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THE

HISTORY

OF

PARAGUAY.

CONTAINING,

Amongst many other New, Curious, and Interesting Particulars of that Country,

A FULL AND AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT

OF

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THE ESTABLISHMENTS

FORMED THERE BY THE JESUITS,

FROM AMONG

THE SAVAGE NATIVES,

In the very Centre of Barbarism:

Establishments allowed to have realized the Sublime Ideas of

FENELON, Sir THOMAS MORE, and PLATO;

Written originally in French, by the celebrated

Father CHARLEVOIX.

VOL. II.

DUBLIN:

Printed for P. and W. Wilson, H. Saunders, B. Grierson, W. Sleater, D. Chamberlaine, J. Potts, and J. Williams.

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THE HISTORY OF *PARAGUAY*.

BOOK VIII.

Don Bernardin de Cardenas ſoon finds means to return to the Aſſumption, and expel the Jeſuits: He is however forced to withdraw a ſecond time, and the Jeſuits are reſtored to their College. Various accuſations brought againſt theſe fathers of their being poſſeſſed of gold mines, and making a bad uſe of them, are found to be equally falſe and malicious. Their Neophytes render the Province ſome important ſervices.

IT may very well be imagined, that the troubles which had, for theſe two laſt years, prevailed in the Province of Paraguay, muſt have conſiderably retarded the progreſs of Religion and Piety, not only among the Indians who had been witneſſes to them, but even among thoſe of the Parana reductions, where it was impoſſible entirely to conceal all that happened; not to ſpeak of the Neophytes whom the governor had ſent for, and who had ſeen too much, not to be grievouſly ſcandalized. But though the Jeſuits had all this time enjoyed the greateſt tranquillity, they were too few to make any new conqueſts. Now and then, indeed, they met in their 1644.

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journeys ſome of the Indians that had been formerly baptized by St. Francis Solano, and other religious from Peru, and who had diſperſed afterwards for fear of being enſlaved by the Spaniards. Though it was a much harder matter to reclaim moſt of theſe Indians, than it had been to convert them, when they knew our holy religion merely by the virtues of thoſe who came to inſtruct them in it, a few were found among them who had perſevered in their baptiſmal innocence, and among the reſt, one who had been baptiſed at the age of twenty, and was now upwards of one hundred. It is true he retained nothing of all he had learned, but the belief of one God; but this belief was ſo lively, that he every day worſhipped him on his knees, and with hands lifted up to heaven in the devouteſt manner.

About this time there prevailed a report that the Jeſuits had diſcovered ſome very rich gold mines in the Province of Uruguay, and took the greateſt precautions to keep the knowledge of them from the Spaniards. We have already ſeen that Don Bernardin de Cardenas had made a handle of ſome ſuch report, to juſtify his deſign of driving theſe fathers out of their reductions. This prelate's declamations againſt them, and the confidence with which he ſpoke of this diſcovery, wrought upon a great many perſons, thoſe eſpecially whom the zeal of theſe miſſionaries, to preſerve the liberty of their Neophytes, had put in an ill humour; ſome of them even went ſo far as to write to the Royal Council of the Indies, that it was proper to withdraw the Jeſuits from the reductions, and ſend other paſtors there in their ſtead. It was afterwards given out with equal aſſurance, that theſe fathers, not ſatisfied with enriching their ſociety, ſent a great deal of this gold to foreign countries; and this calumny made ſuch an impreſſion on the Council, that it ſent orders to withdraw from the miſſions of

Paraguay

Paraguay all thoſe Jeſuits that were not his Majeſty's born ſubjects.

The mines, however, ſoon vaniſhed, and ſeveral perſons bluſhed at having ſo lightly credited a fact of that nature on the word of a ſingle witneſs, whoſe teſtimony all ſorts of reaſons ſhould have rendered ſuſpicious, if not abſolutely incredible. This was an Indian called Bonaventure, who, after having lived as a ſervant in a convent of Buenos Ayres, eloped to ſome vagabond Indians, with whom he wandered about for ſome time, as if he had never received the leaſt tincture of Chriſtianity. At laſt, however, various adventures, inſeparable from this kind of life, conducted him to one of the reductions of the Province of Uruguay, where he immediately made himſelf known for a Chriſtian; and even acted his part ſo well, that he ſoon acquired a great reputation for virtue, and zeal for the ſalvation of ſouls; but when people thought leaſt of it, he carried off a married woman, whom he had debauched; but being purſued was brought back, whipped publickly, and remanded to Buenos Ayres.

It is very probable that the inhabitants of this city were, for ſome time, without knowing what had happened to him ſince he left it; be that as it will, he immediately gave out that the Jeſuits had diſcovered in the countries where he had been, ſome very rich gold mines, and ſpoke ſo poſitively of them, that he was believed by ſeveral perſons; for he went ſo far as to ſay that he had worked in them, and that in three days they gathered grains enough to fill a half buſhel. He added, that being once ſtrongly tempted to avail himſelf of ſuch plenty, he had, in conjunction with another Indian, formed a ſcheme to elope with as large a quantity of this precious metal as they could carry, but that his partner having betrayed him, he had been ſeverely whipped, and expelled the Province.

A ſingle reflection, and ſuch as one would imagine could hardly eſcape thoſe who heard this account from

him, might have rendered it suspected; and that was, that the Jesuits must be exceeding great fools, not to secure a man, who knew their secret, and had been ill used by them. But mines of gold possessed by religious who made a mystery of them, was a discovery too flattering for several persons, not to be credited without further inquiry. Bonaventure, besides, had so well foreseen all the questions that could be asked him, that he answered every thing without the least hesitation. He pointed out the places whence the gold was dug, the number and quality of the mines, and his whole narration carried with it such an air of simplicity and candour, that even those whom he could not quite persuade, judged it requisite to send persons to examine upon the spot into the truth of so important a discovery.

THINGS, however, were carried no further, till the rector of the college of Buenos Ayres having summoned the magistrates to take cognizance of the affair in a regular manner, the informer was juridically interrogated; but he not only acquitted himself in a manner that did him no honour, but several inquiries and researches made, in consequence of his accusation, served only to render his imposition still more glaring; so that Don Pedro Estevan d'Avila, governor of the province, wrote to the royal council of the Indies, that the gold mines so much spoken of, had not even the least shadow of existence. Upon this the informer held his tongue, but his silence was of no long continuance; the fear of punishment, which he could not have avoided, if the Jesuits had prosecuted him, alone withheld him, and the hopes of impunity made him break out again. He applied more particularly to those that arrived from Europe; and Don Hyacinth de Laris, knight of Santiago, being come soon after to replace Don Pedro Estevan d'Avila, he immediately waited on him, and told him it was very surprising that a man should not be credited, who ad-

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vanced nothing but what he had been an eye-witneſs to; and that merely becauſe the terror, occaſioned by the formalities of a judicial interrogatory, had made him faulter in his anſwers.

Don Hyacinth de Laris would have been very glad that this man had ſpoke the truth; but, after what had happened, he was greatly at a loſs what to do in the affair, when he received a letter from the biſhop of Paraguay, in which this prelate ſpoke of the mines in queſtion, as of a thing that could not be doubted of. This letter ſoon became publick: Bonaventure triumphed at it, and the governor thought himſelf indiſpenſably obliged to ſpare no pains or expence to clear up the matter. And, after ſome private conferences with the informer, he at laſt reſolved to repair to the ſpot, and embarked with an eſcort of fifty ſoldiers, the informer, and a gentleman called Martin de Vera, who had the reputation of being a very able miner.

But Don Hyacinth had ſcarce got half-way, when Bonaventure ſuddenly diſappeared. This elopement gave riſe in his mind to a great many reflections, but he was too far advanced to return back without his errand. He therefore purſued his journey as far as the firſt reductions of the Parana, where he kept the deſign of his expedition a profound ſecret. He only queſtioned ſome of the Neophytes on mines in general, and recommended the ſtricteſt ſecreſy to them. But father Diaz Tano, at this time ſuperior to the miſſions, having got notice of his deſign, begged him to continue the viſit of theſe reductions, and required him, in the king's name, to ſummon the biſhop of the Aſſumption to ſend him the proofs of what he had ſo confidently advanced to the prejudice of his order. Don Hyacinth could not refuſe to comply with ſo juſt a demand; and after having diſpatched a perſon he could depend upon to ſerve the ſummons, he entered the Province of Paraguay, where he ſoon perceived that

the ſight of his ſoldiers had ſpread an alarm through all the reductions.

On his aſking the reaſon of it, he was told that the Neophytes, who were but too well acquainted with the project formed by the biſhop of Paraguay to deprive them of their miſſionaries, and replace them with eccleſiaſticks, ſeeing him ſurrounded with ſoldiers, ſcarce doubted of his being come with a deſign to carry it into execution, and of his having brought the prieſt who accompanied him as chaplain, merely to put him in poſſeſſion of all theſe churches. The miſſionaries added, that they would not be anſwerable for the conſequences of ſuch a ſtep, unleſs he ſpeedily re-aſſured theſe new Chriſtians, who were not to be trifled with on this head, as they were convinced that the only end propoſed in thus changing their paſtors, was to deprive them of their liberty; and that the entire evacuation of all the reductions was the leaſt evil to be apprehended, from his not giving them all the ſatisfaction they had a right to expect.

The governor made anſwer, that he was very far from entering into the views of the biſhop of Paraguay; and to give them a proof of his ſincerity, immediately ſent back his chaplain to Buenos Ayres, without ſo much as giving him leave to ſay maſs in any one of the reductions. The departure of this eccleſiaſtick, and the aſſurances given the Neophytes of the governor's diſpoſitions, in regard to their miſſionaries, had the deſired effect. The Indians rendered him all the honours he could expect, and nothing now hindered him from making all the reſearches, which were the object of his journey.

The firſt thing he did, was to declare to all his ſoldiers, that he would make a captain of the firſt man who diſcovered a mine, equip him in a magnificent manner, and give him, beſides, a gratification of two hundred Philipines. We may well imagine, that fifty ſoldiers, animated by ſuch promiſes, ſpared no pains

to find out what the governor was come to look for, and at length, one of them having been told by an Indian, that his father had conducted him when a child to a gold mine, and that he could ſhew him the way to it, immediately waited on the general, with his informer, and claimed the rewards he had offered. Don Hyacinth anſwered, that he might depend upon them, if the information given him turned out true; but, when he came himſelf to interrogate the Indian, he found that he had loſt his father before he was five years old; however, he put him into the hands of the miner, and ſent them off to viſit the mines, with a ſufficient eſcort.

After travelling for ſome days through the moſt frightful roads, they arrived at the end of their journey; but inſtead of mines, or even the leaſt appearance of any, they met with nothing at the place to which they were conducted, but ſome ſhells, whoſe reſplendent colours might have eaſily impoſed on ſo young a child. In the mean time, the courier, which Don Hyacinth had diſpatched to the Aſſumption, arrived with letters from the governor and the biſhop of Paraguay. The firſt anſwered, that he had often heard ſpeak of the gold mines of the province of Uruguay, but in ſo vague a manner, that he never imagined any ſtreſs was to be laid upon what people ſaid of them. The ſecond, after promiſing to give, in due time and place, certain indications of the mines, Don Hyacinth was looking for, and entering into ſeveral matters quite foreign to the point in queſtion, concluded by ſaying, that it would be firſt requiſite to drive the Jeſuits quite out of theſe provinces, and that the advantages which would accrue from their expulſion, would be equal to any that could be expected from the moſt plentiful gold mines.

The governor, enraged at this diſappointment, began to ſee, that thoſe who had put him upon theſe reſearches, had ſuffered themſelves to be blinded by the ill-

ill-will they bore the company: however, the flight of Bonaventure filled him with doubts and suspicions; but the Jesuits, who knew people would certainly accuse them, with having put him out of the way, bestirred themselves so much, to know what was become of him, that they at last found him, and sent him well bound to the governor. Don Hyacinth ordered him to be unbound, and then taking him aside, "Friend, said he, my fortune and your own are now "in your hands; conduct me to the mines, which "you told me you had seen, and of which you "spoke to me with so much confidence, and you may "depend upon my doing for you more than you can "expect." My Lord, "answered the Indian, with all the marks of the greatest astonishment; "I do not "know what you mean; I never spoke of mines to "any one."

The governor, imagining that he answered in this manner, merely because he did not think it safe to speak his mind, gave him his word that he would take him under his protection, and then desired him to recollect all he had said of the mines where he had worked, of the fortresses built by the Jesuits to guard them, of the garrisons they maintained in these fortresses, and of the arms with which they were well provided: but Bonaventure still protested, that he did not remember ever to have spoken of any such things. Upon this the governor ordered him to be put to the question, but the force of torments could extort no other confession from him, than, that if he ever spoke of mines and fortresses, he must have been drunk when he did so. "No matter, "replied the governor, whether it was drunkenness, or "deceit, it shall cost you your life," and he accordingly ordered him to be hanged on the spot. But the Jesuits thought proper to intercede for him, and with much ado prevailed on Don Hyacinth to dismiss him with two hundred lashes.

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These religious flattered themselves that the ill success of this calumny would leave its authors nothing but the shame of having uselessly employed it to ruin them; but it happened to be of the nature of those, whose first impressions leave traces behind them, that the most authentick justifications cannot efface. They resemble certain trees, the smallest roots of which, though the trunk has been cut down, are sufficient to produce a new one. Accordingly, we shall soon see the mines of Paraguay make a greater figure than ever, and even multiply and extend beyond the province of Uruguay; and though sunk a second time to the centre of the earth, by the most solemn declarations, and these, too, published after the most exact inquiries, pass in both hemispheres for a thing incontestably proved, and of which many people are surprised to hear others entertain the least doubt.

Tucuman now was the only province where the Jesuits enjoyed a tranquillity that nothing disturbed, because they laboured under the protection of a bishop, who himself shewed them the example, and lost no opportunity of taking their part. Accordingly the Lord blessed all their endeavours in an extraordinary manner. On the other hand, in spite of all they suffered in the neighbouring provinces, their reductions on the Parana, and the Uruguay, were now in a more flourishing condition than ever they had been, without excepting even those, which were near enough not only to hear the storm, but from time to time receive some shocks from it. They had more than repaired all their losses, had no longer any thing to fear from the Mamelus, or their allies, and already formed that Christian republick, which was the wonder of all those who took the nearest view of it. The members of it lived in the practice of virtues, of which it could scarce be believed that men of this kind were capable; but the greatest wonder of all was, that this sensible improvement was as much the work of the Neo-

phytes,

phytes, as of their pastors, who had found means of animating their flock with all the zeal with which they themselves were inspired.

This was very far from being the case with the reductions of the Itatines, in one of which all the inhabitants revolted against their pastor, and even wounded him in a dangerous manner. This commotion would have been followed by the entire dissipation of them, had not the pastors of the neighbouring reductions found means to make themselves masters of the principal authors of the mischief, and send them to one of the reductions of the Uruguay, at two hundred leagues distance. But this calm was scarce restored, when the Mamelus, no longer willing to measure their strength with the Christians on the Parana, and the Uruguay, fell suddenly upon the Itatines, who were neither so well armed nor so much within the reach of assistance, and whom, besides, it was much easier to surprise; and they accordingly surprised them. Father Francis Arias was killed in the reduction he governed: a great number of Neophytes were carried away in chains, and it was with great difficulty, that after the retreat of these banditti, the missionaries could collect enough of the dispersed Neophytes to form two towns. About this time too, father Romero, whom we have so often had occasion to mention, was murdered in Chaoo, where he had formed a reduction; and the fruits of his labours were entirely lost.

1645. All this while Don Bernardin de Cardenas continued at Corrientes, where, to the great surprise of every one, he acted as if he had been both governor and bishop of the place, deposing as he thought proper the officers of justice, and naming others to succeed them, ordaining persons that had no dimissory letters, and not only without the leave of the vicar-general named by the chapter of Buenos Ayres, the see of which was now vacant, but even in spite of the inhibitions with which this ecclesiastick

siastick caused him to be served. The Jesuits had not, as yet, any settlement in this town; but as they were frequently obliged to pass through it, and sometimes, when it happened to stand in great need of spiritual assistance, they were often forced by the inhabitants to stay a few days among them.

The bishop of Paraguay took this amiss, interdicted these religious, and even extended his resentment to those who received them into their houses, though he had received two citations from the royal audience of Charcas to appear before that tribunal. But so far from obeying them, he made no other answer, but by recriminations against the governor of Paraguay, and the Jesuits. The first thing he set about, after his arrival at Corrientes, was, to draw up a memorial, by way of manifesto, of every thing relating to his exile, and then sent it with a letter in the same style, dated the third of January, by his nephew, to the bishop of Tucuman.

In this letter Don Bernardin spoke of the governor of Paraguay in the most injurious terms, represented him as a madman, who had sacrilegiously dared to lay hands upon his bishop, without any regard either to his person, his dignity, or the holiness of his character; treated him as a violator of the sacred rights of the episcopal office, and of the jurisdiction and immunities of the church; and complained bitterly, that after so many excesses, the least of which deserved death, instead of being punished by the superior tribunals, he had been loaded by them with honours and rewards. But as he considered Don Gregorio de Hinostrosa merely as the vile tool of the Jesuits, it was against these religious he principally vented all the bitterness of his gall; insomuch that he could not have employed other strokes, or other colours, to describe the most contemptible, and detestable men that ever existed; and this he did with as much assurance, as if informations had been taken

against

against them in the most juridical form, and they had been convicted beyond a possibility of reply. [illegible]ion ever, as he foresaw that the bishop of Tu[illegible] [illegible] give hear every thing from persons, wh[illegible] [illegible]f. ther opinion of the Jesuits, to intere[illegible] [illegible] better in his cause, he added, that the [illegible]ers had dared to advance, that he himself and [illegible] [illegible]ssor had incurred the censures of the church, fo[illegible] hav[illegible] [illegible] conse-crated him without bulls. It is, howev[illegible]r, certain that they had never said any such thing. But Don Ber-nardin concluded it from certain [illegible]ngs published, to prove that he himself was bound [illegible] censures, and of which he had taken it into his head that the Jesuits were the authors.

What he most insisted upon in his letter, was the indispensable obligation he pretended Don Melchior was under, of assembling a provincial council, in qua-lity of the oldest bishop of the province, the arch-epis-copal see being at this time vacant; for, said he, the bu-siness is no less, than to stop the progress of an evil, which cannot be too soon restrained, the inundation of crimes and sacrileges which deluge the province of Para-guay, and the schism which tears the church; than to condemn monstrous heresies taught by the Jesuits; than to restore to the church her privileges, and her juris-diction; than to hinder the bishops from being stript of their rights and revenues; than to provide for the safety of their persons; than to restrain the cupidity of the usurpers of his majesty's domain and patronage; than to put an end to the commerce they carry on in the gold of Paraguay with strangers, to the great pre-judice of the king's treasury; than, in fine, to secure the salvation of an infinite number of souls redeemed with the blood of Christ, and perverted by a doctrine, founded on heretical and schismatical principles.

The better to engage the bishop of Tucuman not to defer the convocation of this council, Don Ber-nardin, after threatening him with the indignation of heaven,

heaven, in case he refused to employ so efficacious a "[illegible] for so many evils, after putting him in mind "of [illegible] of the council of Trent, which en- "[illegible] holding of provincial councils, "[illegible]cluding, that he was bound under pain o[illegible]tal sin, to assemble one without any further [illegible] added, "I require it of you in the "name of God, of the blessed apostles, and of our "mother, the holy church; I humbly and most ear- "nestly require it, and with all the respect that is "due to you. I exhort you to it, protesting against "you, for the [illegible]parable damages that must infallibly "result from your refusal. May God avert so great "an evil; may he inspire your most illustrious lord- "ship with so necessary a resolution; may he then "raise you to the throne of the metropolis, and there "preserve you many years, as I heartily wish for the "good of the church. At Corrientes, the third of "January, 1645."

It appears by this letter, that all Don Bernardin's own conceits, and all the suggestions of certain persons, acquired in his mind the appearance of the most evident truths, and that the force of his imagination rivetted him so close to the objects of it, as to leave no room for those reflections which might naturally be expected to arise from them. For what could he expect from a council, in which Don Melchior de Maldonado was to preside, since he could not but know from this prelate's repeated letters to him, that he differed widely from him in his sentiments, not only concerning the Jesuits, but concerning his behaviour since he had taken possession of the see of Paraguay; and how could he send him, as he did, his letter and his memorial, by father de Cardenas, knowing what he thought of this religious. But, incapable of renouncing any thing he had once taken into his head, he could not believe, that it was possible for any indifferent person to dissent from him. Accordingly the

the biſhop of Tucuman's anſwer, though nothing could be better adapted, made not the leaſt impreſ[illegible] upon him to remove his prejudices. But [illegible] a copy of it, that the reader may judge for hi[illegible]

"My Lord,

"There are three articles in your moſt illuſtrious "lordſhip's letter, which I cannot defer anſwering. "The firſt relates to what has lately happened to "you, to which you add, that both I and my pro- "viſor are made partakers of your diſgrace *, for "having conſecrated you without ſeeing the pope's "bulls. The ſecond is, that the fathers of the com- "pany of Jeſus are the authors of all the miſchief, "and that they have ſaid, they were inſtituted to re- "form the biſhops, and have advanced ſeveral other "things, ſome of which are heretical, and the reſt "little better. By the third you earneſtly preſs me to "call a provincial council, and refer me, for my better "information, to a relation that father de Cardenas "was to communicate to me. I happened to be "at Rioja when this religious arrived at Santiago, "and he ſent me your letter, but I have not ſeen the "relation.

"In anſwer to the firſt article, I do not know what "to think of all the accounts that have been ſent "from Paraguay into this province, though I can ſee "there muſt be a fault ſomewhere: that the fathers "of the company are the authors of all the miſchief, "I read in your letter, but in that of father Lupercio, "their provincial, I find a very ſuccinct and modeſt "relation, and withal, very full of reſpect towards "your moſt illuſtrious lordſhip, whoſe conduct he "no way takes upon him to blame. When I com-

* This proviſor had been one of the aſſiſting canons at the conſecration of Don Bernardin, who had no diſpenſation for being conſecrated by a ſingle biſhop, aſſiſted by two canons.

"pare

"pare it with yours, I obferve in it modefty, good "fenfe, gravity, all that can be expected from a man "of his birth, and a religious of the company of Je-"fus. I am bound to afford him that protection, "which his actions feem to deferve. On this princi-"ple you and I are agreed, fince it is an apoftolical "rule common to us both, to protect the innocent, "and ftill more, in the cafe of a religious order, which, "while it is perfecuted in Paraguay, is careffed at "Rome, and all the other courts of Europe. This "order has but juft made its appearance, and it can "already reckon a great many martyrs and faints, all "of a diftinguifhed rank. The fecond Paul of the "church iffued from its bofom *, and no Jefuits have "been as yet known to give into herefies. As to the "gold mines of Paraguay, they are looked upon by "all men of fenfe, as an invention of hell to deftroy "their reductions.

"But, my Lord, let us put into the fcales, on "the one hand twelve thoufand crowns, which his "majefty allows them for this good work out of the "treafury of Buenos Ayres, and on the other the "millions of children baptized, the hundred thoufands "of adults converted and civilized, after having "been drawn out of their forefts in countries where "no Spaniard had ever fet his foot; thefe actions, "to judge of them by the rules of religion and rea-"fon, muft be, in the eyes of God, and all thinking "men, of great weight; let us confider their tem-"ples fo rich and magnificent, and where divine "fervice is performed with fo much folemnity: "how much fweat, fatigue and expence, muft "not fuch eftablifhments have coft them! Thefe "are the gold mines of Paraguay. If thefe fathers

* This is likewife the name which Don Juan de Palafox gives St. Francis Xavier, in his fhort account of the eftablifhment of religious orders.

"were so intent upon accumulating riches, they would "not have given, as they are accused, thirty thousand gold crowns to a governor, from whom they "had nothing to hope. I have often endeavoured "to find out, which way they could send their gold "into foreign countries, and to the enemies of the "state, but I have not as yet been able to find it out. "Certainly it is not by the way of St. Paul of Piratiningue. Let us now speak of the heresies with "which they are accused.

"LET your most illustrious lordship tell the persons who buzz these accusations into your ears, that "they are no better than impostors; forbid them "your house, as to so many calumniators, and this "cry of heresy and schism will soon die away. I "have always observed, my lord, that among all the "charges brought against the Jesuits, no one has as "yet taken it into his head, to accuse them with "frequenting women, with soliciting them, or with "any other such crime, which the frailty of our nature might render more credible: God has permitted, that such things alone should be laid to their "charge, as are altogether improbable, and in regard to which, they need not take any trouble to "justify themselves. However, they have not been "a little mortified to see themselves accused of heresy, and the other crimes with which you charge "them, but they could not take a better method to "clear themselves, than by speaking, as they do, with "so much respect and reverence for your lordship, "and without ever complaining of those who have "a share in the persecutions raised against them.

"As to the provincial council, which you require "me to assemble, I fully satisfied my duty on that "head, in the life-time of the archbishop of La "Plata, and my endeavours have been properly acknowledged. Besides, to do what you desire, there "must be other bishops besides myself, whom I could

"invite

" invite to ... It would likewise be requisite, that " they sho... be able to consult, and confer with " each other upon the subjects to be treated of in " this council, in order to judge of them more ma- " turely; for matters of this importance are not to be " lightly decided. I shall always be ready to sacrifice " my rest, and risk my life and reputation, for the " service of God; but I would not stir a finger to " eternize my memory. Every thing ought to be " transacted according to the canons, decency, and " with good ...; and it is the maxim I shall always " follow, when a council is to be called.

" Now, it is proper you should know, that my " lord of Misne is not at present in a condition to " assist at it; that his lordship of Buenos Ayres has " not as yet taken possession of his church, nor ac- " quired experience enough to judge of affairs of such " importance as these in question; and lastly, that " the bishop of Le Paz is dead. There remain, " therefore, but you and I, who will never be of the " same opinion, because, and you know it as well as " I do myself, I must maturely examine every thing, " and take the advice of several persons of probity, " religion, and learning. I should even think myself " obliged to consult the fathers of the company, as I " always do in every conjuncture relating to my own " diocese. Not only they give me good counsel, but " they sometimes contradict me, and I am obliged to " them for doing so. They do not reform me as bi- " shop, but they tell me what is faulty in brother " Melchior. My state is more holy than theirs, and " in quality of bishop I am their master; this lays me " under an obligation of being the salt of the earth, " but I am not sure of being so.

" You ask me, my lord, what I would advise you " to do: But how should I advise a bishop, God hav- " ing only charged me with the conduct of my flock? " You know better than I can tell you, what should

" be the rule of a biſhop's conduct.—I wiſh I could " always keep in mind, that the power communi- " cated to me in my conſecration, and which I com- " municated to you in yours, does not conſiſt *in* " *ſplendore veſtium, ſed morum; non ad iram, ſed ad* " *omnimodam patientiam*. Our Lord, who is the head " of biſhops, has told us, *if they have perſecuted me,* " *they will perſecute you*; and how far have they per- " ſecuted him?—So far as to nail him to a croſs, and " leave not a ſingle drop of blood in his veins.

" Now, did he from his croſs, call Pilate a here- " tick?—Did he abuſe the Phariſees?—I ſee him be- " ſtow his paradiſe on the good thief, who repented " of his crimes; on the contrary, and though the " other reviled him, he ſaid nothing to him that ſa- " voured of reſentment. He prays to his father to " forgive his executioners.——Have we as yet been " perſecuted to the effuſion of our blood?——Does " our poverty equal his?—I tell you, my lord, what " I know of our head; I do not tell you that I fol- " low his example; I do not tell you that you do not " follow it; but with your leave I will tell you, what " is expected from both of us. There are always " people ready to exaſperate us by their evil counſels, " and make us forget what religion, and the holineſs " of the character with which we are inveſted, require " of us. The Phariſees ſaid to our Head, If you are " the Son of God, deſcend from the croſs.—Evil " counſellors ſpeak to us pretty much in the ſame " manner, when they exhort us to puniſh the injuries " and affronts, that have been offered to us."

In the mean time, the governor of Paraguay, not content with having informed all the ſuperior tribunals of America, with his reaſons for making Don Bernardin leave his province, ſent to the royal council of the Indies, juridical informations of all that had happened in his government, ſince that prelate had entered

tered it, in order to prove that he had no other means left to prevent the total ruin of it, as well as of the reductions on the Parana, re-establish peace and good order, and put a stop to the scandals growing from day to day more numerous and flagrant. The Jesuits on their side took precautions to prevent the consequences of the persecution they groaned under, and named a judge conservator, to whom, in virtue of a bull of Gregory XIII. received in all the dominions of the Catholick king, this quality gives a right to oppose, in his majesty's name, any attempts upon their honour, their goods, or their life, and prosecute the persons who should make such attempts.

Nor did Don Gregorio fail to acquaint the council of his having been reduced to the necessity of employing the militia of the reductions, to re-establish his authority, almost annihilated by the bishop's intrigues, adding, that they had on this occasion given him the strongest proofs of their loyalty, their obedience, and their zeal for the king's service. But the year following, they gave him still more incontestable proof, and such as, besides, furnished him with an opportunity of convincing his majesty, how much it imported the safety of the province committed to his care, not to permit these Indians to be disturbed, and much less stripped of the privileges granted to them. The Guaycurus, reinforced by a great number of allies, seemed to have formed a resolution to drive the Spaniards out of the Assumption, and had prepared for the execution of it with so much secrecy, that the massacre of several persons who lived in the country, was only considered as one of the ordinary hostilities, in which these Barbarians used to have no other view, but that of plundering some scattered habitations, and which might easily be checked by a detachment or two of soldiers. 1646.

But it ſoon appeared, that the capital itſelf was what they aimed at, and that they were marching towards it, with forces much ſuperior to any the Spaniards could oppoſe them with. This intelligence having been firſt given by the Cacique, of one of the Parana reductions, with a circumſtantial account of the enemy's numbers, the governor immediately charged him to raiſe, and bring to him as ſoon as poſſible, a body of the militia belonging to theſe ſettlements. The Cacique loſt no time in obeying theſe orders, and his expedition diſconcerted the meaſures, which the Guaycurus were taking to fall at once from all quarters upon the province, where they flattered themſelves they ſhould find very few upon their guard againſt them.

The Neophytes fell upon a great body of them, who expected nothing leſs than to be attacked, and cut them to pieces; and this check ſpread ſo great a terror among the allies of theſe Barbarians, that ſcarce one of them was afterwards to be met with. Don Gregorio, in the account he gave of this action to the council of the Indies, did not forget to obſerve, that if he had not put it out of the biſhop of Paraguay's power, to carry into execution the project formed by him againſt the reductions, he could not have found in them ſo ſeaſonable a ſuccour; as no one doubted, but that the very minute the Jeſuits, who alone poſſeſſed the entire confidence of the new Chriſtians, ſhould be removed, they would all deſert, and thereby leave the province expoſed to the danger of being irretrievably loſt.

The baniſhed prelate, however, entertained greater hopes than ever, of being again able to enter his dioceſe in triumph: he had a great many friends and protectors at La Plata, the place of his birth, to whom he uſed to ſend his expurgatory memorials, and relied ſo much upon their credit, and the goodneſs of his cauſe, that he no longer doubted but that the royal audience, freed of the prejudices with which he ſaid

his enemies had inſpired them, and to which he attributed all the citations of that tribunal to appear perſonally before it, would immediately re-eſtabliſh him in his ſee. But he was very much ſurpriſed to hear that the city of Corrientes, where he ſtill remained, and all thoſe where he could meet with an aſylum, had received orders from this ſuperior court, to refuſe him admittance, or turn him out, in caſe he had already taken up his reſidence in them, unleſs he conſented to obey the order with which he had been ſerved, as the tranquillity of theſe provinces, and the ſervice of the king depended entirely on his obedience *

THOUGH this ſtroke ſtartled him not a little, it did not diſconcert him; for as the royal audience ſtill ſtiled him biſhop of Paraguay, he pretended, that before he ſet out for La Plata, it was proper he ſhould go to the Aſſumption, were it only to appoint a grand vicar to govern the dioceſe during his abſence; and towards the cloſe of the year, 1646, or the beginning of the following, he embarked at Corrientes to return to it. But when he had got within eight leagues of it, the governor cauſed him to be ſerved with an order not to come any nearer. Upon this he would fain have landed at the very place where the order found him, in hopes of being able to get from thence to the Aſſumption by bye-roads, and ſhow himſelf there, when he ſhould be leaſt expected; but thoſe who conducted his bark, would not permit him to ſtir out of it, and in ſpite of all his prayers and his threats brought him back to Corrientes.

HERE he received a new citation from the royal audience, like the preceding, and dated June 29, 1647, the addreſs of which imported, that he had been named to the biſhoprick of Popayan. 1647.

* Que de no obedecer, lo hagan ſalir de los nueſtros Reynos y Senorias como ageno y eſtrano, por importar aſſi para la quietud de aquellas provincias, y al ſervicio de ſu mageſtad.

This city is the capital of a province of the same name in the new kingdom of Granada, and lies a thousand leagues, at least, from the Assumption. Don Bernardin considered this nomination as an honourable exile, and he represented to his majesty, who had already given advice of it to the metropolitan, and the chapter of the cathedral of Popayan, that the length of the journey, and his great age, did not permit him to accept of that bishoprick.

1648. The year following, Don Diego Escobar Osorio, having succeeded Don Gregorio de Hinistrora, in the government of Paraguay; Don Bernardin de Cardenas no sooner got intelligence of this alteration, than he set out for the Assumption. He had at last, it seems, obtained leave for that purpose, from the royal audience of Charcas, or from the viceroy, but merely in order to settle his affairs there: it is at least certain, that in their instructions to the new governor, they expressly enjoined him to oppose every thing this prelate and his party might attempt, to the prejudice of the Jesuits. Don Bernardin, however, was more bent than ever, upon driving these fathers out of the province, and out of their reductions; and though, to make sure of his blow, it was proper he should know what he had to fear or expect from the new governor. In preaching on St. Peter's-day, he had not command enough over himself, not to inveigh against the society; he did it, however, with more moderation than usual.

What gave him most hopes, was the manner in which he had been received at the Assumption, amidst the acclamations of the people, and conducted, as it were, in triumph to the convent of St. Francis, where he first took up his lodging. He flattered himself, that all the orders of the city had taken share in this reception, and from thence concluded, that he should soon find it an easy matter to compass every thing he might think proper to attempt. A letter, which he received

much

much about the ſame time, from Don John de Palafox, biſhop of the city of Angels, in Mexico, ſerved greatly to confirm him in his notions, that what he had meditated againſt the Jeſuits, was an inſpiration from above. This letter was, it is generally believed, a circular letter, which Don John de Palafox wrote to ſeveral biſhops of America, in order to engage them to join againſt the Jeſuits, with whom, every one knows, the great quarrels he had in New-Spain, though he afterwards ſpoke very honourably of them, in the works he compoſed, when biſhop of Oſma.

To return to the new governor of Paraguay, though a member of the royal audience of Charcas, he had ſet out from La Plata, without well knowing how the minds of the people were diſpoſed in the capital of his province, nor to whom he ſhould apply, in order to know it, as it was requiſite he ſhould. This his negligence was occaſioned by the different, and almoſt always contradictory accounts, that people were continually ſending to La Plata, and the different impreſſions they made on thoſe who came to the knowledge of them. It is beſides certain, that numbers of perſons were entirely devoted to the biſhop; that the ſpirit of ſedition had ſeized on the multitude, hurried on by the hopes, with which they had been filled, of ſeeing the Chriſtians of the Parana, in a ſhort time, brought under perſonal ſervice.

Don Diego, however, even before his arrival at the capital, had the faireſt opportunity of knowing what was to be expected from men animated by the proſpect of ſo great an acquiſition; for he was informed on the road, that in conſequence of a report ſpread at the Aſſumption, that he had expreſs orders not to permit the Jeſuits to be moleſted, two miſcreants had ſet out from it to aſſaſſinate him, and upon this ſent for a thouſand Indians of the reductions to eſcort him. The promptitude with which theſe Neophytes joined him, and the flight of ſome perſons, when the news of their arrival had

reached the capital, made him thoroughly ſenſible of the greatneſs of the evils he was charged to remedy.

He, therefore, reſolved to behave towards the biſhop, with all the attention and reſpect due to his character, and not leave him the leaſt room to ſuſpect, that he had brought with him from La Plata any prejudices that could ever ſo little impair the harmony, in which the good of the publick required they ſhould live, as long as the prelate remained in his province. As to the Jeſuits, he behaved towards them in ſuch a manner, as to let them ſee, that all they had to expect from him, was, that he could not ſuffer them to be injured, either in their eſtate, or honour; but his moderation proved of more ſervice to them, than the moſt publick declarations in their favour could have done.

It appears, too, that he took no meaſures to make Don Bernardin comply with what the royal audience required of him, and it is certain, that this prelate thought of nothing leſs than repairing to La Plata; ſince after three weeks reſidence in the convent of St. Francis, he removed to the epiſcopal palace, and then thought proper to repeat the ceremony of being inducted to the ſee of Paraguay. This ceremony was accordingly performed with the loud applauſes of the people; but ſome canons renewed their proteſtations againſt it, and began a ſecond time to celebrate the divine office in the College-church. Father Sobrino, who was ſtill rector of it, father Diaz Tano, ſuperior general of the reductions of the Parana, and father de Boroa, who ſoon ſucceeded father Sobrino, had ſhut themſelves up in this houſe, and it was not long before they had reaſon to be convinced, that Don Bernardin waited only for a favourable opportunity to drive them out of it.

He

He already began to republiſh all the calumnies againſt them, which he had for many years paſt been ſpreading all over the city and the province. His confidants zealouſly ſeconded him, eſpecially a lay-brother of his order, whom we ſhall again have occaſion to ſpeak of. Nothing came amiſs to this religious, and to thoſe who ſupplied him with materials for his defamatory libels. The only thing that appeared difficult to them, was to find proofs to convince the impartial publick, for people knew ſo well moſt of thoſe, who had blindly devoted themſelves to the biſhop, that their ſignatures could be of no great weight; but they ſoon bethought themſelves of ſuch an expedient, of which, certainly, no one could ever have ſuſpected them.

This was to compel thoſe over whom they had any power, even youths at ſchool, to ſign what writings they thought proper, and that, too, without being permitted to read them. One of theſe young men, called Ignatius Frias, having been forbid by his father to put his name to any writing preſented to him in this manner, had courage enough to permit himſelf to be cruelly ſcourged, rather than comply with their wicked injunctions. He ſince entered the company, and filled in it, with honour, the firſt employments. When, for want of time, the copies could not be multiplied, they obliged perſons to ſign blanks, which they afterwards filled with every thing they thought proper. A packet of theſe ready ſigned blanks, directed to brother Villalon, Don Bernardin's ſolicitor in Spain, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, who being informed by the letters that accompanied them, of the uſe they were to be applied to, were extremely ſcandalized at ſo villainous a contrivance.

But, while Don Bernardin was ſo well ſerved by thoſe whom he had entruſted with his intereſts, he did not himſelf forget them, and accordingly omitted nothing to diſcover the governor's ſentiments concerning the

the Jesuits, or to accustom him to see them stripped of their reductions. He began by depriving them of that of the Itatines; and he found means of giving so good a colour to this his first attempt, that Don Diego Escobar Osorio, who did not immediately foresee the consequences of it, gave him no opposition. Since the last ravages committed by the Mamelus in the missions among these Indians, the remains of them had been removed to the west of the Paraguay, in the canton of Caaguazu, about one hundred leagues north of the Assumption, and formed into two towns. The missionaries in thus placing the river between the Itatines, and their enemies, had another view, besides that of securing them from any hostile surprise.

We have already seen their reasons for wishing to be able to found churches, at that side of the Paraguay. Their first attempt had miscarried by the death of father de Romero, but they now expected to meet with better success by means of the Itatines, who still amounted to three thousand souls, including some other Indians who had joined them; and there was the greatest reason in the world to expect, that in a short time, their numbers would be greatly increased. Nothing besides could be more advantageous to the province of Paraguay, than the establishment of these reductions, as they could not fail of becoming, in time, a restraint upon the Guaycurus, and the Payaguas, with whom the Spaniards could no longer expect to enjoy a durable peace. But the new governor did not as yet see of what importance it was, to oppose to these wild Indians other Indians, upon which the Spaniards could depend, or conceive the danger of this infant colony's being dispersed, as soon as those who were forming it should be withdrawn: he therefore heard with great indifference, that two secular priests, were set out to take place of the Jesuits among the Itatines; he did not know, perhaps, that these ecclesiastics

clesiasticks had an armed force to put them in possession of their cures, and no doubt was hindered from hearing, that the four Jesuits, stationed among the Itatines had been driven out of their churches, brought back to the Assumption, and so ill treated, during the journey, that father de Arenas lost his life by it.

But what was still more melancholy, the Itatines, from a persuasion that this alteration was levelled at their liberties, immediately mutinied, and this unexpected commotion terrified their two pastors to such a degree, that they directly set out for the Assumption, where, on their arrival, they publickly expressed their surprise at the Jesuits being able to subsist among Indians, who paid no retribution, either for masses, or for burials. In a word, the two reductions were soon deserted, and the bishop, persuaded that the Jesuits could not make any good Christians, chose to leave this dispersed flock without a pastor, rather than send back to them those, who alone could bring them back to the fold.

This, however, was far from being the opinion of the royal audience of Charcas; for, on the first advice this tribunal received, of what had happened among the Itatines, it gave the most positive orders to send back the Jesuits to them. But, as almost a whole year had elapsed, since these Indians had fled their reductions, whatever diligence those sent to rally them could make, they could scarce bring together one half of them; and it is inconceivable what fatigues they suffered on the occasion; father Mansilla's legs were on the point of rotting off, and the worms which bred in them, gave him so much pain, that it was found necessary to remove him to Corduba, as the Jesuits had already been expelled the Assumption. So long a journey increased his complaints, and the remedies came too late to afford him any great ease. It was impossible, however, to refuse him the favour he re-

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quired with the greatest earnestness, of being permitted to go and die in his mission.

Don Bernardin's party was all this time daily increasing at the Assumption, by favour of that kind of indifference, with which the governor seemed to be seized, in regard to the Jesuits; and which, probably, might be owing to his fears of falling into the same danger he had escaped, in his journey from La Plata; so that the out-cry against these religious became in a manner general. They could scarce show themselves anywhere, without being insulted, nor did their enemies stop here. Father Diaz Tano, so much respected every where else, and the most respected in this capital, of any of his brethren, was now him who ran the greatest risk in appearing abroad. Father Anthony Manquiano was one day accosted by a miscreant, who plainly told him, he did not know what should hinder him from tearing out his heart to devour it. Things, in short, were carried to such extremities, that the rector was obliged to shut up his church, and forbid his religious to go abroad. Nay, they would not have been safe at home, were it not for the guards, which the judge conservator had caused to be given to them.

They had still, however, a great many friends in the city; but, as the bishop had again excommunicated them, not one of those who wished them best, would venture to hold any correspondence with them; and the governor, who did not doubt of the excommunication's being valid, gave them no assistance, for fear of embroiling himself, as his predecessor had so often done. As Don Bernardin, however, knew full well, that he should never be able to make Don Diego consent to the banishment of the Jesuits, he carefully avoided speaking to him of it. But this barrier, which the prelate was afraid to trespass, fell of itself, when people least expected it. Don Diego died almost suddenly, after taking something that had been

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ſent to him, as a ſovereign remedy againſt a diſorder with which he was then troubled.

The breath had ſcarce left his body, when the citizens aſſembled tumultuouſly at the town-houſe, to give him a ſucceſſor, till the king ſhould appoint a new governor; and this in virtue of the pretended ſchedule of Charles V, which no longer gave this privilege to the town-houſe of the Aſſumption, and in contempt of the prerogative of the viceroy of Peru, or in his abſence, the royal audience of Charcas. But the inhabitants of the Aſſumption had by this loſt all ſight of law, or ſuperior authority: and, while the leading-men were conſulting in the town-houſe, the populace, ſet on by the creatures of the biſhop, proclaimed him governor and captain-general. Of thoſe in place, ſome thought as the populace did, and the reſt were afraid to declare againſt them; ſo that Don Bernardin de Cardenas took poſſeſſion of his government, without the leaſt oppoſition. 1649.

The expulſion of the Jeſuits was now no longer conſidered as an uncertain event; but Don Bernardin was unwilling to declare himſelf, till he had taken his meaſures ſo well, that every thing he had, ſhould appear to have been done, in conſequence of the reiterated entreaties of all the orders of the city. He, therefore, began by diſplacing thoſe, he was certain did not approve his views, and even obliged ſeveral of them to retire to their country-ſeats. His emiſſaries then ſpread themſelves over all the quarters of the capital, to ſpirit up the people, and engage them to aſk, that the Jeſuits ſhould be driven out of the city; and to animate them ſtill more, one day that the biſhop officiated pontifically in his cathedral, he turned towards the people after the conſecration, and ſhowing them the bleſſed hoſt, *Do you believe, my brethren*, ſaid he, *that Jeſus Chriſt is here preſent under theſe ſpecies?* Then, on their crying out, that they

were disposed to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of this truth: *Be as firmly persuaded,* replied he, *that I have an order from the king, to drive the Jesuits out of this city.*

Doctor Francis Xarque, after relating this fact, adds, that he could not believe that a bishop had spoken in this manner, against his conscience; and that, therefore, some of his party must have imposed upon him, by forging a letter to him, in the king's name, and counterfeiting the hand and seal of his majesty. But brother Villalon, in his memorials presented to the council of the Indies, thought the shortest way was to deny the fact, though of publick notoriety. Be that as it will, certain it is, that this declaration of the bishop's thoroughly persuaded the multitude, that the Jesuits were really guilty of all the crimes he laid to their charge. Great care was afterwards taken to give out, that the expulsion of these religious, would put the bishop-governor in possession of upwards of twenty thousand Indians, and that he intended to distribute them among the Spaniards, in proportion to the ardour with which they should second his zeal for church and state; and what riches, was it further added, are now going to flow into these provinces from the gold mines, which these enemies of God and the king, have hitherto kept so secret, but which will be easily discovered, when once they have been driven out of their reductions.

When the minds of the people had been thus prepared, there appeared an edict of the prelate, requiring, on pain of excommunication and even death, all the inhabitants capable of carrying arms to repair to the standard of John de Villejo Villasanti, lieutenant of the king, and execute every thing that this officer should enjoin them; and this edict having been punctually complied with, on the 16th of March, 1649, Villasanti put himself at their head, and marched to the college, which he found shut. But, after a sum-

a summons to the Jesuits to open it, and which, it is probable, they did not hear, being then at prayers in an inner-chapel, he ordered the gate to be hewed to pieces with hatchets, entered the chapel with his clerk, and some other officers; served the rector with an order to leave the city directly, with all his religious, and evacuate with all speed the reductions of the Parana, and all the other establishments the company had in the province of Paraguay.

The rector answered, that the Jesuits had erected the college of the Assumption, with the permission of Philip II. and had received from his successors repeated orders not to abandon it without their leave, and that they could not, without rendering themselves guilty of disobedience, do what he now required of them. Father Diaz Tano shewed him, at the same time, all the pieces, that served to prove what father De Boroa had advanced: but Villasanti, not deigning so much as to look at them, made a signal to his men to execute the orders he had before-hand given them. Upon this, they all fell furiously upon the Jesuits, loaded them with injuries and blows, pulled them to the ground; trampled them under their feet; and used them so ill, that the bishop of Tucuman, in a letter to the pope, thought himself obliged to give his holiness a circumstantial account of the manner in which they were treated.

Some of these religious, who happened to be sick, were violently dragged out of their beds. And all of them, when well, bound and fettered, hauled to the river, and put on board canoes kept there to receive them: some memoirs say that they were thrown into a bark, without sailors or oars; all agree that they were abandoned to the stream without any provisions, and might thus have been carried into the ocean, had they not been wrecked on an island. This island, however, was so far from Corrientes, that it was with great difficulty they reached this place, where the

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camp-maſter, Don Emanuel Cabral, invited them to his houſe, and omitted nothing to make them forget the ill uſage they had received. He took particular care of the ſick, and laid out his houſe in ſuch a manner, as to be able to give a ſeparate room to every prieſt. Here they remained a whole year at his expence, and in the mean time, acquitted themſelves of all the duties of their miniſtry, in ſuch a manner, as not only effaced all the bad impreſſions the inhabitants of this place might have received to their diſadvantage, in conſequence of the accounts induſtriouſly propagated by the inhabitants of the Aſſumption, but inſpired them with the ſtrongeſt deſire of having among them a college of the company.

That of the Aſſumption, as ſoon as the Jeſuits had left it, was treated like a place taken by ſtorm. The enraged multitude carried off every thing they could lay hands upon, even the doors of the houſe, and the gates of the church. The pulpit and the confeſſionals they broke to pieces, having been made to believe that the Jeſuits preached heretical doctrines from the one, and ſhed the poiſon of corrupt morals from the other. Though the great altar and the tabernacle had been conſtructed by the ableſt artiſts in all Spain, in the beſt taſte, and with the greateſt magnificence, and compoſed, beſides, of materials equal to the exquiſiteneſs of the workmanſhip, in the firſt tranſports of fury, with which the biſhop's partizans were animated, they would have broke theſe fine ornaments to pieces, but means having been found to appeaſe them, it was thought proper to remove them to the cathedral, which had no ornaments that could compare with them; and as the pillars of the altar being of the ſame height with the college-church, were too high for that where they now intended to fix them, it was found requiſite to ſhorten them, and by this alteration deſtroying the proportion of theſe pieces, entirely ſpoiled the beauty of them.

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There were, likewise, on both sides of the great altar two very handsome statues, representing saint Ignatius, and saint Francis Xavier, which the multitude would fain convert into a saint Peter and a saint Paul; but they only made two monsters of them, that resembled nothing. There was, likewise, a picture which represented our Lord, such, as it is said, he appeared to the famous Donna Maria de Escobar, whose memory is held in veneration all over Spain; some one or other cried out, that this figure was the invention of the Jesuits, because it represented this divine Saviour, dressed in a soutane, very like that wore by these fathers. For this reason, after cutting off the head in order to preserve it, they threw the rest into the fire. In the chambers of the religious, nothing was to be found, that could excite the cupidity of the most wretched among the plunderers. They had no plate, but what belonged to the church and the congregation, and that was soon carried off, as well as the ornaments of the altar. In fine, nothing was left standing, but the walls, the roofs, and the floors, and these too were soon considerably damaged. They set fire to them in twelve places; but though there were no arches in the whole building, even the floors received no damage from the flames. People were greatly surprised at this, and several persons cried out loudly, that God preserved this house, and that the Jesuits would soon return to it; but to make this a false prophecy, it was resolved to take other measures, to level every thing with the ground; and they began with the church, which was supported by a steeple, a great deal higher than its roof.

As no lime-stones had been, as yet, discovered in the country, it was impossible to keep even the largest buildings together, otherwise than by interlacing them with wooden pillars, for which the forests of Paraguay yield trees of the greatest height, and thick in proportion. The intervals between these pillars

were filled up with small stones and bricks, bound together with nothing but earth. The tower of the college-church consisted of several stories of this kind of masonry, and to bring it to the ground, they tied strong ropes to several of the pillars; but with all their might they found it impossible to overturn them.. They were therefore obliged to desist, though not till they had reduced both the church and the house to such a condition, that these buildings could only serve for the shelter of animals, and as a place of rendezvous for several abominations, which were afterwards committed in them.

Don Bernardin's next care was to acknowledge the zeal of those, who had served him so well; but all to a few Negroes, whom they immediately seized, there was very little plunder to divide among so many pretenders. He found it still more difficult to justify in the eyes of the superior tribunals, and the royal council, the violences he had exercised on this occasion, even though the Jesuits had been ten times more guilty than he pretended. No man living, besides himself, could imagine, that such an execution, merely on the strength of his own private authority, and without observing any formality of justice, could ever be approved in any place but a city, whose inhabitants he had seduced, and brought over to his interest, by the hopes with which he fed them, of being able to make immense fortunes by the spoils of the Jesuits. He had even imposed upon himself to such a degree, that having received the compliments of some persons upon what he had done, so early as the 15th of April he dispatched to Madrid, brother San Diego de Villalon, his solicitor, with juridical informations which he had drawn up, to justify his conduct, and shew the pressing necessity there was for his taking such violent measures.

The Jesuits on their side were not wanting to themselves, and lost no time in suing for justice. In virtue

tue of a brief of Gregory XIII. it is lawful for them, when greatly injured in their estate or honour, to appoint a judge conservator for themselves, who examines their complaints in a summary manner, and pronounces sentence in the name of the sovereign pontiff, whose delegate he becomes, in virtue of his nomination; and this brief has been received in all the dominions of the Catholick king, on condition that the superior tribunals of every district should allow the cause to be within the competence of a judge conservator, and approve the person elected to act in that quality. The Jesuits began by complying with these conditions; and father Alphonsus de Ojeda, rector of the college of Corduba, who had already repaired to La Plata, to complain to the royal audience there of what had happened at the Assumption, was charged with this business.

But though he lost no time, Don Bernardin was before-hand with him. All he got, however, by his extraordinary diligence was to inform this superior court of what it could scarce have credited on the simple relation of father De Ojeda: and accordingly it made no difficulty of granting this father all he asked. The Jesuits first named for their judge conservator Don Gabriel de Peralta, dean of the cathedral; but he represented to them, that as he had some personal quarrels with Don Bernardin, it did not become him to act as his judge, and begged them to choose another, adding, that he would not refuse to judge the accomplices and executors of the prelate's violences. Nothing could be more reasonable than this refusal; and therefore the Jesuits immediately named for their judge-conservator against the bishop, father Peter Nolasco, superior of the religious of the Merci, who was willing to act on the occasion, and as it was proper to begin with the author of all the mischief, as soon as all the permissions were arrived from La Plata, he proceeded regularly to business. Don Bernardin having refused to appear to any

of the citations father Nolasco caused to be served upon him, and continuing to act as if he had never done any thing but according to the rules of the strictest justice, father Nolasco, after hearing all the witnesses, and observing all the formalities requisite in a cause of this importance, signed and published his definitive sentence the 19th of October, 1649. That of the dean of the cathedral was not pronounced and signed till the 22d of January, 1652.

In the mean time, the royal audience, fully persuaded, that the pretended schedule of Charles V. of which the corporation of the Assumption had availed themselves to choose a governor, did not exist any where, but in Don Bernardin's imagination, and that nothing could justify his behaviour since his election, thought proper not to leave this province any longer without a head, that could re-establish order and subordination in it, and therefore named visitor of Paraguay, with the title of governor and captain-general *par interim*, Don Andrew Garavito de Leon, knight of Santiago, and one of its Oydors.

But as Don Andrew was obliged to stop on the road to make another visit, and therefore could not expect to arrive at the Assumption, time enough to remedy the more pressing evils, the royal audience sent to the camp-master-general a commission, to act as governor and captain-general of Paraguay, till Don Andrew's arrival, with orders to assemble sufficient forces to reinstate the Jesuits in their college, and prevent any attempts against them for the future.

The same tribunal afterwards issued a decree, which enjoined Don Bernardin de Cardenas to appear immediately before them in person, in order to shew his reasons for causing himself to be acknowledged in quality of governor and captain-general of the Province of Paraguay, and then driving the fathers of the company out of the Assumption; adding, that as these two cases were of the competency of the secular tribunals, his episcopal

copal dignity could be no plea in either, for not acknowledging the jurisdiction of the court, and submitting to it. The audience then gave notice of all its proceedings to the marquis De la Mancera, viceroy of Peru, who approved and confirmed them.

To return to Don Sebastian de Leon, who was the first to be charged with the execution of these orders, he had retired to the country a little before the Jesuits had been driven out of their college, to avoid being spectator of an event, which he foresaw and could not prevent; and, perhaps too, not to draw upon himself a second time the indignation of the bishop, the weight of whose resentment he had already felt. In receiving the commission addressed to him by the royal audience of La Plata, he saw full well all the difficulties he must expect to meet in executing it, and he thought proper not to shew himself so soon in the capital, from a persuasion that his presence would only serve to increase the confusion there, and that his party in it would be much the weakest. The course, therefore, he took, was to make his first appearance in the most distant plantations, and there notify his commission. His two brothers, and some other persons of note, who had retired for the same reasons he himself had done, soon joined him, and his company increased little by little to a considerable number. As soon, therefore, as he saw himself strong enough to act with vigour, he sent an express to Corrientes to desire the Jesuits to come and join him; he then sent a person to notify his commission to the corporation of the Assumption and the officers who had remained there, assuring them that he would not exercise any of the functions of his office, till he had first communicated to them all the orders and instructions which he had received from the royal audience.

He was in the mean time privately advised, to be very much upon his guard, as both Spaniards and Indians had been made to take up arms, and it was

every where given out, that no power had a right to strip Don Bernardin de Cardenas of his government. The prelate especially had imbibed this strange notion; and among such of his papers, as were afterwards sent to the royal council of the Indies, there was found a letter, directed to John Romero de la Croix, in which he said, "That he was on the point of distinguishing "himself by heroick exploits, and signal victories; "that he had both force and justice on his side; that "all the capital sided with him, firmly resolved never "to receive any Jesuits, or their friends, within its "walls, and not to acknowledge Don Sebastian de "Leon as governor. And in fact, added he, would "it not be the height of madness to receive in this "quality, an excommunicated person, a heretick, a "traitor? God will not allow it, and will deprive "of life, as he deprived the last, whoever shall, like "him, presume to act as governor; for it is from "God I hold the government."

Don Sebastian thought proper to allow him time to reflect on the consequences of the steps he was going to take, till, hearing that they were making in the capital, all the preparations usually made in a place threatened with a siege, he sent for the Spanish militia of the province, and three thousand Parana Neophytes, and, as soon as they had joined him, set out for the capital. But the approach of the Indians, so far from intimidating the bishop's forces, gave them the greatest joy. These troops, it seems, had been made to believe, that the angels had promised the prelate to fight for him, and, on the strength of this apparition, had provided themselves with ropes to tie the Indians, whom they were resolved to spare, in order to make slaves of them.

As soon as the bishop heard of Don Sebastian's approach, he thought proper to spare him half the journey; and having sent out his troops to meet him in good order, under the command of the king's lieutenant,

tenant, he repaired himſelf to the cathedral, followed by a crowd of women, children, and old men. There, proſtrate at the foot of the altar, where he had cauſed the bleſſed ſacrament to be expoſed, he conjured the Lord to deliver his church and the province from the heretics, and impious men, conſpired againſt his Chriſt and the king. It was not long before the two armies arrived within ſight of each other, and as ſoon as they did, the governor cauſed his commiſſion to be publiſhed by ſound of trumpet, as likewiſe the orders of the viceroy, and the royal audience, ſolemnly proteſting, that he was come in a ſpirit of peace, to reſtore order and juſtice to his country, which could not refuſe him the teſtimony of having never given the leaſt cauſe of complaint to any of his fellow citizens. He added, that it would grieve him to the ſoul to be obliged to draw againſt his countrymen a ſword, which as yet he had never employed but in their defence; that he would not do it, till he was forced to it; and that he conjured the faithful ſubjects of his majeſty, not to lay him under ſo diſagreeable a neceſſity.

The epiſcopal army marched to this war as to a cruſade, and made not the leaſt doubt of gaining a compleat victory. There was not a ſoldier among them, that would not have thought it a great crime to ſubmit to the governor; as the biſhop had forbid it on pain of excommunication, and corporal puniſhment. He himſelf informed the council, and all the tribunals of this particular, in a declaration he afterwards publiſhed to exculpate thoſe who had fought for him. The governor therefore, was only anſwered by a diſcharge of ſmall arms, as ſoon as they ſaw him within reach; but, though he had neither helmet nor cuiraſſe, he received no harm, having been juſt grazed by a ball, which killed at his ſide one of his officers. Upon this, he cauſed the charge to be ſounded, and the epiſcopalians maintained the firſt ſhock with all that fanatical firmneſs, which was to

be expected in people, who looked upon themselves as invulnerable. But it was of very short continuance; a rational courage soon triumphed over the desperate fury of those, who had reckoned too much on the assistance of angels; and who, balked of their expectations, saw no other way left to avoid perishing by the hands of an executioner, than that of dying in the field of battle. Several, however, surrendered; others sought their safety in flight; and the governor, having forbid his troops to pursue them, entered the city without any resistance.

He first halted in the great square, where he again caused his commission to be published. He then ordered all the wounded to be removed to the hospital, and those, that could not find room there, to be carried to his own house. Having thus provided against the most pressing wants, he repaired to the cathedral, to give God thanks for preserving him from the danger which he had escaped in the beginning of the battle. Here finding the bishop, he respectfully kissed his hand, and beseeched him to give up to him the staff of command, assuring him that he would always make it his business to give him, on every occasion, marks of the respect due to his person and dignity, and render him all the services in his power. The prelate was seated on his throne, in his episcopal habit, his crosier in one hand, and the staff of command in the other. This last he delivered to the governor, without saying a single word, and retired to his palace.

Don Sebastian thought proper not to defer any longer, to serve him with the orders of the royal audience, to appear personally before them, and do it before witnesses. Don Bernardin promised to obey, and the governor told him, that he considered it as one of his most essential duties, to supply him with every thing requisite to perform his journey, in a manner suitable to his dignity. The Jesuits on their

side

ſide were urging the judge-conſervator to begin his proceedings, in order to ſecure them from the calumnies, which their enemies continued to publiſh againſt them, ſince their expulſion from the capital: but as it required ſome time to obtain the conſent of the royal audience, to the nomination of a ſecond judge-conſervator, father Nolaſco could not pronounce his ſentence againſt the prelate, till the 19th of October, 1649.

This ſentence, as I already ſaid, was given for contumacy, the biſhop having refuſed ſo much as to anſwer the citation of the judge; accordingly we ſhall ſoon ſee, that he always conſidered it as null and of no force. Even the manner, in which the royal council received it, has been variouſly repreſented. A ſecretary-general of the council of the Indies has aſſured me in a letter, which I ſome years ago received from him, that it had been approved at that tribunal, as well as at Rome. Others have wrote, that it was not; but theſe ſeeming contradictions may be reconciled by diſtinguiſhing times, ſince it is certain, that Don Bernardin de Cardenas had friends at the court of Madrid, and in the royal council of the Indies, who in the beginning ſerved him with a great deal of zeal and ſucceſs; and that the Jeſuits always contented themſelves with ſolidly refuting what his ſolicitor advanced againſt them, without ever recriminating. The letter, I juſt now mentioned, imports, that this ſentence was ſince confirmed by an edict of his majeſty of the firſt of June, 1654, with full knowledge of the cauſe; and after mature examination of all the ſteps taken in Paraguay, in regard to the biſhop's revolt, and that by this edict it was declared, that father Nolaſco's behaviour, in quality of judge-conſervator of the Jeſuits, deſerved the higheſt applauſe.

To return to Don Sebaſtian de Leon, I ſaid that the governor, on his arrival in the province, had ſent to the Jeſuits of the college of the Aſſumption, who remained

remained all this time at Corrientes, to repair to him, and ſome of them had accordingly joined him with the Indians he had ſent for to the reductions. When therefore he had ſolidly eſtabliſhed his authority, he loſt no time in cauſing their college to be repaired; and for that purpoſe employed ſo many workmen, that all theſe fathers were in a ſhort time well enough lodged, to acquit themſelves of their moſt indiſpenſable functions. It was at firſt thought requiſite to pull down the ſteeple, as the efforts made to overturn it had inclined it to ſuch a degree, that it ſeemed ready to fall upon the church; but on maturer deliberation, an attempt was made to give it an oppoſite direction, and though it at firſt appeared impracticable, it perfectly ſucceeded.

THE governor after this cauſed an edict to
1650. be publiſhed in the king's name, for reſtoring to the Jeſuits, under the ſevereſt penalties, all the negroes, and in general every thing, that had been carried off from them. The judge-conſervator enforced it by an ordinance, to which he added the pain of excommunication; but moſt of the moveables were abuſed, and thoſe, to whom they had been given, were ſo poor, that it was found requiſite to abandon them. The pillars were replaced on the great altar, and repaired in the beſt manner they could. The governor did every thing elſe at his own expence. For which reaſon the general of the company acknowledged him as the reſtorer of this college, with all the prerogatives attached to the quality of a firſt founder.

As the viceroy of Peru, and the royal audience of Charcas had limited Don Sebaſtian's commiſſion to the pacification of the province, the ſummoning of Don Bernardin to repair to La Plata, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits, he proceeded no farther, and took no informations againſt thoſe, who had ſerved the biſhop ſo well againſt theſe religious. This

was,

was, properly ſpeaking, the buſineſs of the judge-conſervator, who was going on with it as faſt as he could. The governor then applied himſelf to undeceive and reaſſure a great number of perſons, who, through mere fear of the biſhop, had taken part with him, and to cure the multitude of the prejudices, with which they had been inſpired; by ſuch wiſe meaſures, he at laſt had the good fortune of making almoſt all the inhabitants return to their duty. His great moderation, however, could not ſcreen him from the perſecution of Don Bernardin's friends; and when his commiſſion was expired, he not only found himſelf under a neceſſity of retiring to the country, but found it a difficult matter to find even there a place of ſafety.

He did not for this, however, abandon his ungrateful country in an urgent neceſſity. The buſineſs was to repreſs the courſes of the Payaguas, ſo much the more dangerous, as they have a way of ſurpriſing thoſe they intend to attack, by which the moſt vigilant are often deceived; one time they cover the river with their Pirogues, and at another, they fall like a hurricane upon places, from which they were thought to be a hundred leagues diſtant. Beſides, almoſt all their places of retreat are inacceſſible, and it is very dangerous to venture too far after them. Don Sebaſtian ſaw that he could do nothing better to oblige theſe Barbarians not to moleſt the Spaniards, than ſend after them thoſe very Indians, who had ſerved him ſo well againſt the army of Don Bernardin, and which he had diſmiſſed immediately after the battle, not to give any umbrage to the inhabitants of the Aſſumption. He therefore immediately recalled them; and the Payaguas diſperſed the moment they heard of it.

So ſeaſonable and ſucceſsful an aſſiſtance ſhould, one would imagine, cure the inhabitants of the capital of their prejudices againſt thoſe, to whom they could

could not but see they were chiefly indebted for it: but this event contributed to make them lose all the hopes, which they had conceived, of having these Neophytes in a short time as slaves; and they had been too often flattered with these hopes, to lose them without regret. Besides, the people were made to believe so firmly, that the Jesuits preached heretical doctrines and corrupt morals, that they abused the secret of confession, that their absolutions were null and void, and that no one could, in conscience, hold any correspondence with them, that many persons could scarce see them without a kind of horror.

Don Bernardin, in the mean time, after a great many delays, at last seriously resolved to set out for La Plata. But as the royal audience of Charcas would not take upon themselves to decide whether or no this prelate was really bound, as it now began to be universally believed, by censures which disqualified him from exercising any jurisdiction within his diocese, they thought proper to leave him at liberty to name a provisor and a vicar-general during his absence, whom they had the precaution, however, to cause to be approved by the metropolitan. This archbishop on his side remarked to them, that it would be a difficult matter to find, in the province of Paraguay, a provisor liable to no objection from either of the two parties that divided it, and so brought them to propose to Don Bernardin Don Adrien Cornejo, curate of the principal parish of Corduba, and grand vicar of the bishop of Tucuman. Don Bernardin approved him; and during seven years that he governed the diocese, he fully justified the choice that had been made of him for a place of such importance, and in such a critical conjuncture.

The prelate now had no longer any pretext to defer his journey, and therefore set out for La Plata, where he arrived in the month of March, 1651. His retinue was pretty numerous, and some of his most

zealous

zealous friends had preceded him by a few days to procure him an honourable reception. In fact, he entered La Plata, as it were, in triumph. A great number of religious, followed by crowds of Indians, came to meet him as far as the town of Yotola. As soon as he appeared at the gates of the city, some of the churches set all their bells a ringing; triumphal arches were erected; the streets were adorned with hangings, and lined with an infinite number of people, saluting him with repeated acclamations; and in this manner he was conducted to the convent of his order, as he had desired. The religious received him under the pall, and first conducted him to the church, where the *Te Deum* was immediately performed.

FROM the church they conducted him to a house in the neighbourhood, which had been fitted up for his reception, and where he was soon visited by several persons of distinction, and a great number of ecclesiasticks, who kissed his hand; and as he was informed, that numbers of people assembled about his lodging, earnestly wishing for the same favour, he went to the door, and satisfied them all. An act of his reception was then drawn up by a notary at the requisition of Don Gabriel de Cuellar, who served him in quality of secretary, but whom we shall soon see giving his reputation a stab, which he would have been glad to avoid, at the expence of all the honours he had just now received.

THESE honours, however, had filled him with hopes, that his journey would be crowned with all the success he could wish for; but this agreeable deception was of no long duration. The acclamations of the multitude, spirited up by his creatures, were followed by satyrical verses, which his friends failed not to attribute to the Jesuits: and he soon found, that the courts of justice began to think very unfavourably of his conduct, especially by their persisting in their endeavours to make him accept the

the bishoprick of Popayan. They then proposed to him to make a voyage to Spain, where they said he could transact his affairs much better in person, than by an agent: but he avoided the snare laid in this manner to get him out of America; and as it was not proper to oblige him to either, his majesty granted him a pension of two thousand piastres, till his cause should be finally decided.

The fathers Sobrino and Diaz Tanno had
1651. closely pursued him to La Plata; and though they met in several places on the road, and even in the capital of Charcas, numbers of persons persuaded of the truth of every report, that had been propagated in Paraguay to the disadvantage of their society, they kept up their spirits. The petitions they presented to the royal audience were favourably received; the behaviour of Don Sebastian de Leon approved, not only by the tribunal, but by the count of Salvatierra, who had succeeded the Marquis de Mancera as Viceroy of Peru, and by the royal audience of Lima; and these courts of justice did not spare Don Bernardin in the rescripts they published on this occasion. He did not know till now, that the Marquis of Mancera was no longer in Peru; and as soon as he heard, that the Count de Salvatierra succeeded him, by a letter this lord wrote to him, he answered it in the following terms:

Most Excellent Lord,

"I have received your Excellency's letter of the "first of June, and after having read it with the "greatest respect and attention, in hopes of finding "some comfort in it, I applied your signature to my "lips and to my eyes, which should have been bath-"ed in tears of blood, and perhaps there never was a "more melancholy occasion for them. A bishop "reduced to poverty, loaded with years, sinking un-"der the weight of the most excessive labours, and so

"many

“ many tribulations, which have even endangered his
“ life, is come to ſeek a remedy to ſo many evils: he
“ calls out for juſtice, and requires that a ſtop ſhould
“ be put to enormous crimes againſt God and againſt
“ the king, but can obtain nothing. He ſees, on
“ the contrary, the authors of theſe exceſſes, thoſe
“ who have ſeized on his Majeſty's treaſure, who
“ have uſurped his juriſdiction, his royal patronage,
“ and his domaine; who have cauſed the death of ſo
“ many perſons, every where favoured and triumphant,
“ permitted to remain in poſſeſſion of their doctrines,
“ in ſpite of the royal ſchedules, and the decrees of
“ the holy council of Trent, to the prejudice of the
“ city of the Aſſumption, and all the province, while
“ the biſhop, in reward for his zeal in oppoſing their
“ pernicious deſigns, is forced to undertake the
“ longeſt and moſt painful journeys, overwhelmed
“ with the bittereſt affliction, affronted in all places,
“ ſtript of his revenues, and all this for no other
“ reaſon, than his zeal for the intereſt of the
“ king his ſovereign, and to the preſervation of
“ the faith.

“ In fine, my ſhoulders are no longer able to ſup-
“ port ſo heavy a burthen, and even my conſcience
“ gives me alarms which I cannot ſilence. I muſt
“ therefore eaſe myſelf of them on the conſcience of
“ your excellency, and that of his majeſty's other mi-
“ niſters: It is to your account, and to theirs, that all
“ the evils ready to pour on the province of Paraguay,
“ the capital eſpecially, are to be placed. Theſe
“ are monſtrous and well atteſted hereſies againſt
“ the eternal and temporal generation of the divine
“ Word, againſt the virginity of the mother of
“ God, againſt the ſovereign name of God himſelf:
“ The nullity of the ſacraments for want of pow-
“ ers in the curates; the omiſſion of inſtruction
“ among the Indians, who are neither taught what
“ they ought to believe, or what they ought to do, as
“ the

" the king orders, and the holy council of Trent pre-
" scribes; the usurpation of the royal treasury, which
" every year amounts to upwards of five hundred
" thousand crowns, and, within these forty years,
" makes upwards of fourteen million, besides the quint,
" which the king ought to receive for the gold mines,
" which the voice of the public assures us, have been
" opened in these provinces, and which I make not the
" least doubt of, not to speak of the alms of the ho-
" ly crusade, which have been suppressed for so
" many years, to the great spiritual detriment of the
" living and the dead, nor of the tithes, or at least
" the twentieths, which the Indians owe according
" to the canon law, and which those of the Parana
" and the Uruguay are bound to pay, like the rest,
" to the cathedrals of Buenos Ayres and the Assump-
" tion; but their curates have despoiled these churches,
" to the amount of upwards of one hundred thousand
" crowns a-year. For which reason the king is un-
" der a necessity of maintaining the two bishops, and
" their chapters.

" Thus you see, my lord, how these fathers have
" robbed the church of very large sums; and what is
" this to the innumerable sins, the disorders, the
" schisms, the contempt of excommunications, the
" disobedience to the orders of the church, and of his
" majesty, the expulsion of bishops from their dio-
" ceses, and the abominations committed with still
" greater licence, since the pastor has been ravished
" from his flock? for his presence put some bounds
" to these enormities, and he had put it out of the
" power of the fathers of the company to foment the
" evil, with the great credit they had acquired by means
" of the treasures, of which they had defrauded his
" majesty, and the great power, in which they were
" supported by upwards of one hundred thousand vas-
" sals, which they will, one day or another, perhaps

" betray

"betray into the hands of the tyrants of Portugal. Knowing that I was the only person who could lay open their pernicious intrigues, they contrived, by publishing a great number of calumnies against me in writing, to prevail on the Marquis de Mancera to send me a sacrilegious order to appear before the royal audience of La Plata, though he could not prove the slightest fault against me; and besides, was no stranger to the many important services I had done his majesty.

"It was reserved to your Excellency to remedy so many disorders; and you cannot refuse, nor even postpone, the doing of it, without sinning grievously against the faith; without being wanting in your duty to the king, to the bishops of the church, to the church herself; without incurring the censures denounced by the canons, and by the bull *in Cœnâ Domini*, as, no doubt, your predecessor has done. You cannot, my Lord, follow his steps; you cannot even refuse to annul all that he has so foolishly and wickedly done or directed. You have already, and with great justice, annulled his decrees in things of less importance. Nay, I believe, that it is in that spirit you deprived Sebastian de Leon, a notorious drunkard and an abominable man, of the government of Paraguay. But, by naming Don Andrew de Leon Garavito to succeed him, your Excellency has set another lion upon it, equally cruel with the first, whose relation he stiles himself; and who, accordingly, has with his two talons completed the ruin of Paraguay by reducing its inhabitants, even the women of the best quality, to the greatest distress.

"The voice of so many wretches; their tears; the evils they suffer; and the excess of their affliction; all lie at your door, my Lord, as well as that of the royal audience, and of those ministers who have contributed to it. For my part, who have more

"than complied with all my obligations as a catho-"lick biſhop, and a faithful ſubject of his majeſty; "and who, for above theſe ſix years paſt, have "ſuffered ſo much to ſupport the intereſts of God "and my prince, I intend, with your Excellency's "leave, to retire to ſome hovel, from whence I ſhall "inform of every thing my Lord the King, and his "councils; the Sovereign Pontiff, and my Lord "Don Juan de Palafox, who has requeſted it of me. "I ſhall there live on the dues of the altar; and, as "often as I ſhall have the happineſs to officiate at it, "as well as in all my other devotions, I ſhall, with "my tears, proſtrate before the tribunal of heaven "to which I ſummon you, implore with humility "and confidence that juſtice, which I cannot obtain "upon earth. From the convent of St. Francis of "Chuquiſaca, the 8th of June, 1651.

"Moſt excellent Lord, I kiſs your Excellency's "hands. Your ſervant and chaplain,

"Brother BERNARDIN DE CARDENAS,
"Biſhop of Paraguay."

CHUQUISACA is the name of the Indians in whoſe country La Plata is ſituated; and was, likewiſe, that firſt given to the town itſelf. It is likewiſe proper to obſerve, in juſtice to Don Sebaſtian de Leon, and Don Andrew de Leon Garavito, that the former was nothing leſs than what Don Bernardin repreſents him; and that he had not been deprived of the government of Paraguay; for he held it merely by a temporary commiſſion, and that commiſſion was expired. And, as to Don Andrew Leon de Garavito, it was impoſſible that Don Bernardin ſhould have heard even of his arrival in Paraguay, at the time he thus ſo bitterly complained of violences committed by him in that province. Don Andrew had taken Corduba in his way, and, after ſome ſtay there, repaired to San-

taſé,

take, where a friar waited on him to let him know, that he had met with a very convincing proof of the reality of the so-much-spoken-of gold mines of the province of Uruguay; for that he had seen two ox-hide bags on board a bark from that province, so very heavy, that the Indians of the reductions, who were entrusted with them, had much ado to bring them ashore; and that he was informed by them, that they were a present from their missionaries to Father de Boroa, the provincial of the Jesuits, who had sent one of the bags to Corduba, and the other to the Assumption.

But what makes you think, Father, says the visitor, *that these bags were full of gold? Their being so heavy*, answers the friar. *If they were full of gold*, replies Don Andrew, *of the size you make them, the Indians would never have been able to land them, and carry one of them to Corduba.* Then, after reprimanding him severely for making so groundless a charge, *I am greatly edified*, he added, *by the disinterestedness of Father de Boroa, who, having so much gold in his power, kept none of it for himself. Had you received such a present, it is my opinion you would have kept it all.*

DON ANDREW, during his navigation up the river, met with several other persons, who deposed against the Jesuits concerning these mines; but without proving the existence of them otherwise than by continually repeating, that the thing was notorious and incontestible. He expected to meet with some more certain information in the capital of Paraguay, where the minutes of the depositions sent to the royal audience, and signed by a great number of persons, were deposited; and, on his arrival there, listened attentively to all those who had signed them; or still had any thing to depose; examined and confronted the witnesses that were brought to him; but he could discover nothing, except that most of the signatures to the written depositions laid before him had

 been

been obtained by force or by fraud; and that the proofs chiefly insisted on were entirely founded on the speeches of the bishop, his creatures, and adherents.

This done, he gave directions to prosecute all those, who had been in office during the years 1648 and 1649; and who, instead of opposing, as it was their duty, the violences committed against the Jesuits, had consented to be the ministers and executors of them. Having given them all the time they could expect, to make their defence, he passed a definitive sentence upon them, on the 24th of July, 1651. He would have condemned some of the most guilty to death, had not Father Pastor, who succeeded Father de Boroa as provincial of the Jesuits, observed to him, that it would render them obnoxious to some of the first families of the province. He ordered, however, the bishop's edicts for driving the Jesuits out of their college to be publickly burnt.

Father Pastor often represented to him, that his brethren could not consider themselves as completely justified, till he had visited those reductions, at least, in the neighbourhood of which their enemies would have it that the gold mines were situated; especially as the same persons still persisted in accusing them, that they never permitted either bishop or governor to visit them, even since Don Hyacinthus de Laris had repaired, in person, to the spots that had been pointed out to him. Nay, Father Pastor, finding that his simple representations had no weight with Don Andrew, backed them by a formal petition, and an offer to defray him, and make all the Indians of these reductions, with their pastors, evacuate them during his stay there, that he might be more at liberty to make all the inquiries and searches he should think proper. But all the satisfaction Father Pastor could get from Don Andrew was, that he had received no orders for that purpose; and that, besides, after the proofs

proofs of honesty given by these Indians and their missionaries, and those he had himself received of the wickedness and falshood of their accusers, he could not but deem such a visit equally indecent and superfluous. Not content with these declarations in favour of the Jesuits, he pronounced a second sentence, condemning those, who had falsely informed against them on the score of these mines, to banishment, and a fine to the use of the king. This his conduct, as well as that of Don Sebastian de Leon, was approved by a royal decree, issued the first of June, 1659.

DON ANDREW now concluded, that all his cares were at an end; but, just as he was preparing to set out for Peru, he received advice, that a pretty numerous army of Mamelus, regularly disciplined, and headed by experienced officers, were ready to pour into the province, on four different sides, in virtue of a commission from the new king of Portugal, still at war with the crown of Spain. As, therefore, he could not depend on the Spanish or Indian militia of the Assumption and its neighbourhood, he thought the best course he could take would be to prevent their being under a necessity of taking the field, by hindering the enemy from entering the province; and, with this view, immediately dispatched couriers to the Parana reductions, with orders for all the Indians belonging to them, who could bear arms, to occupy all the passes. But their missionaries had been before-hand with him; and had so well concerted the march of their Neophytes, that they fell the same day on the four divisions of the Mamelus; killed great numbers of them; and obliged the rest to retreat with such precipitation, that they left all their wounded, and baggage behind them.

THE Guaycurus, in concert, perhaps, with the Mamelus, or willing to take advantage of the perplexity in which they flattered themselves that the Spaniards were going to be involved, threatened at the

the ſame time to fall on the province. Don Andrew, therefore, after detaching ſome troops to obſerve them, ſent orders to the Indians, who had rid him of the Mamelus, to take the field again. This the Guaycurus no ſooner heard of, than they retired with the utmoſt precipitation. Nor have they ever ſince dared to make any attempt worth notice againſt the province, even at times that it was impoſſible for them not to know, that the Spaniards, divided among themſelves, were, of themſelves, unable to any make great reſiſtance.

THE viſitor having then propoſed to theſe brave Neophytes to help him to rebuild the church of St. Lúcia, at this time in a very ruinous condition, they cheerfully complied; and, animated by the ſame ſpirit with thoſe Iſraelites mentioned by Eſdras, who, in one hand held their ſwords ready to repel the enemies of God's people, while with the other they rebuilt his Temple, thought themſelves highly honoured by being employed to rebuild the ſanctuary, on leaving the field, in which they had defeated the demoliſhers of ſo many churches.

DON ANDREW ſet out ſoon after for La Plata, where he was informed that there had ſtarted up a new informer, touching the Uruguay mines. But, though the royal audience gave no credit to what he ſaid, they thought proper to ſend an account of it to the royal council of the Indies, which, thereupon, voted, that a new viſitor ſhould be ſent to Paraguay. Accordingly, Don John Blaſquez de Valverdé, oydor of La Plata, ſet out for that province, with the ſame titles, with which his predeceſſor, Don Andrew de Leon Garavito, had been inveſted, but far more ample powers; for he was charged to examine into the actual ſtate of the royal revenues of the three provinces of Tucuman, Paraguay, and Rio de La Plata; of the royal treaſury of Buenos Ayres; of the miſſions of the Jeſuits; the number of the reductions; the

the miſſionaries employed in them; and the Indians, under their care, liable to pay tribute; and, above all things, to examine perſonally, if there were any gold mines in the province of Uruguay.

This new informer was an Indian, called Dominick, who gave himſelf out for a Tupi by birth, though he had drawn his firſt breath at Yaguaron, and had never ſtirred out of it, till he became the property of Captain Chriſtopher Ramirez de Fuenleal, who, ſome time after, took him to Tucuman. This officer, one of the moſt declared partiſans of Don Bernardin de Cardenas, had taken upon him to realize this chimera of mines, ſo juſtly and univerſally cried down among people of the beſt ſenſe; and thought he might ſucceed in his ſcheme, by means of this ſlave of his. He, therefore, took him with him to Santiago, where he ſaid nothing of the matter till he had tutored him to his wiſh. Then he made a preſent of him to Don Melchior Maldonado. His reaſons for remaining ſo long ſilent were, that, as he had been declared by Don Andrew de Leon Garavito incapable of ever holding any public employment, and condemned to pay a fine of three hundred crowns, beſides one hundred for damages to the Jeſuits, every thing he could have ſaid againſt theſe fathers muſt have worn a very ſuſpicious aſpect. Some time after Dominick had entered the Biſhop's ſervice, he began to play the part, to which his old maſter had trained him. He began by giving out, in the way of common diſcourſe, that he had ſeen, near the Conception, one of the moſt ancient reductions of the province of Uruguay, very fine gold mines. He even produced the plan of them, which he had drawn out, he ſaid, upon the very ſpot. This made ſo great a noiſe, that the magiſtrates ſent for him; and made him undergo a kind of interrogatory, in which he adhered to every thing he had ſaid. Upon this, they ſent him to La Plata, and there

 addreſſed

addressed him to the oydor, Don Francis de Nestare Marin, who likewise examined him several times, and finding, that he persisted in saying that he advanced nothing but what he had seen with his own eyes, made a report accordingly to the royal audience, who, thereupon, immediately resolved to send a new visitor to Paraguay, with the titles of governor and captain general.

THE viceroy of Peru having approved the choice, made by this tribunal, of Don John Blasquez de Valverde to execute so important a commission, the informer was put into his hands, and conducted by him to Santiago, where Don Blasquez had scarce arrived, when he was called to Corduba on an affair sufficient to give him a very bad opinion of Dominick. I said, that Don Gabriel de Cuellar, who had followed Don Bernardin de Cardenas to La Plata in quality of his secretary, had served him in that journey with a great deal of zeal. Some time after, Don Gabriel, having a call to Tucuman, stopped at Corduba, where he was taken ill, and soon given over by his physicians. Seeing himself thus at the point of appearing before the Almighty, he thought proper to repair, as much as possible, in a judicial way, all the injuries he had done [redacted]ts, while in the service of the bishop of Paraguay; and, for this purpose, earnestly beseeched the new visitor to take the trouble to come and see him. The visitor having complied, Don Gabriel presented him with a paper, of which the following is a translation from a printed and authentic copy

"BE it known to all those who may see the
1651. "present declaration, that I, Captain D. Ga-
1652. "briel de Cuellar and Moschera, inhabitant
"of the Assumption, capital of the province
"and government of Paraguay and Rio de La Plata*,
"and treasurer of the holy crusade in that city, in

* This was the stile before the latter of these provinces was taken from the former, and it still often obtained.

"order

order to do justice to truth, exonerate my conscience; and repair the injuries done to all the fathers of the company of Jesuits, who are or have been in the said province of Paraguay, declare, that I have been acquainted all my life with these fathers, as well in Spain as in the said province, and have confessed to them, because I found their doctrine sound, their life exemplary; and was, besides, convinced of their great zeal for the salvation of souls. Among those, whom I have known in these provinces, there were some strangers, some Spaniards, and some natives of the country; all devoted to the service of God; faithful to the king; increasing, by the great number of Indians they instructed and converted, not only the flock of Jesus Christ, but likewise the empire of his Majesty. And, accordingly, it is true of all in general, and each in particular, that they greatly edify the public by their modesty, by their good conduct, and by their piety; that they make up quarrels, and check the progress of public vices and scandals; that they visit the sick, and relieve, with a great deal of charity, their wants, both spiritual and temporal; and protect, to the utmost of their power, all worthy persons, who pay a due regard to their own and their families spiritual welfare, such as the camp-master general, Sebastian de Leon, his relations, and his friends. Whatever has been published to the contrary is no better than a vile calumny, forged and propagated by persons blinded by their passions.

" For my part, the lord bishop, Don Bernardin de Cardenas, has made me feel the rigorous effects of his violent temper, having robbed me of my substance, and of my peace of mind, by means of his excommunications and his fines. I saw him treat in the same manner some others of the principal inhabitants; and the fears of his violence, added

" to

to the remembrance of what I had already felt, having made me consent to serve him in quality of his secretary and his procurator general, against the fathers of the company of Jesus; I submitted to do, to say, to write, to depose, against them, every thing the said lord bishop required; and, what is more, to engage several inhabitants of the city to do as I had done; and all this blindly, and without examining whether what they signed was true or false, though I was persuaded in my conscience, that things were imputed to these fathers, that never had been, and were merely the effect of the said prelate's passion; for as to what has been advanced, both by word of mouth and in writing, that they were disloyal to the king our master; that they had usurped mines, from whence they drew gold to send it into foreign countries; that they intended to withdraw these provinces from his Majesty's obedience; that they were heretics, schismatics, disturbers of the public peace, and enemies to society; all these assertions are extremely false, and I wish my voice was loud enough to be heard all the world over, that I might retract the calumnies with which I have blackened them; and which I caused to be subscribed by thirty-five persons, who signed in the name of other persons, as I myself signed in the name of my son, Don Joseph de Cuellar and Moschera, at that time but seven years old.

"This, and every thing else, which appears under my name, was done by the orders of the said lord bishop, who commanded me to do it in quality of governor and captain general of the said province of Paraguay, and in his Majesty's name, on pain of death, and of being punished as a traitor. Thus, he must be more guilty than I am of all the mischief which has ensued, as I did nothing but obey him as his Majesty's subject. But I now wish I

"had

"had lost my substance, and even my life, rather
"than act the part I have done; knowing full well,
"that all these proceedings were against the law of
"God, against the holy company of Jesus, and
"against truth. This I attest upon oath, before
"God and his cross; humbly asking pardon of the
"reverend father provincial, all his fathers, and all
"those, whom I have scandalized. And, for the
"exoneration of my conscience, I desire that there
"be made several copies of the present retractation,
"to be sent to all the tribunals of justice, where
"they may be useful to the said company; and in
"order to give it the requisite authenticity, I have
"signed it before a notary, and in presence of the
"underwritten witnesses, Thomas de Medina, Va-
"lentin d'Escobar Becerra, and Anthony Amolin,
"clerks, engaged in minor orders. At Corduba,
"the 8th of November, 1656, I have written the
"present declaration with my own hand, and have
"signed it, Don Gabriel de Cuellar and Moschera."

THIS declaration, which was sent to the royal council of the Indies, made so much the greater impression on the king's mind, as his Majesty, some time after, received several letters from the bishop of Tucuman, in favour of the same fathers. In one of these letters the prelate told the king, that it amazed him to see the libels of an enormous length, which came from the province of Paraguay against the Jesuits, with whom nobody could be better acquainted; and in another, of the third of February, 1652, after saying how much he was scandalized at them, "it is, added he, the "most reverend bishop of Paraguay, Don Bernardin "de Cardenas, who has resolved to ruin the Jesuits; "and one of the methods he has chosen for that "purpose is to disperse, by means of his confidants, "a great number of defamatory libels against them "in these provinces." 1652.

THE

The beginning of this ſame year, Don Gabriel de Peralta, who had hitherto deferred acting in quality of judge conſervator of the Jeſuits, merely for the reaſons I have already mentioned, put the laſt hand to the criminal proceſs againſt thoſe, who had been the executors of the biſhop's violences, and pronounced his definitive ſentence againſt them the ſecond of January. This eccleſiaſtic was a man above all reproach; and loſt nothing of the general eſteem, which he had acquired in the province, nor of that in which he was held by the royal council of the Indies, by the calumnies againſt him contained in the memorials, printed at Madrid by Don Bernardin.

It appears by a letter, which Don Gabriel
1653. wrote, the year following, to the Count of Penaranda, preſident of the royal council of the Indies, that a decree had been iſſued by that council, ordering Spaniſh corregidors to be eſtabliſhed in all the reductions governed by the Jeſuits. But Don Gabriel thereupon obſerved, that having, in quality of vicar general and adminiſtrator of the dioceſe during the vacancy of the ſee, made the viſit of the reductions ſubject to it, it evidently appeared to him; firſt, that to deprive theſe new Chriſtians of their fire-arms would be putting it out of their power to defend themſelves againſt their enemies, which were always thoſe of the ſtate. Secondly, that it would be the greateſt injuſtice in the world to expreſs the leaſt diffidence in theſe fathers in regard to the government of their churches, which they had founded with infinite labour, and cemented with their blood, thereby acquiring entire provinces to God and his Majeſty. In ſhort, that it was of the laſt conſequence to think ſeriouſly of the danger, that would attend innovations, which could only be ſuggeſted by evil-minded perſons, or ſuch as were not ſufficiently aware of the fatal conſequences with which theſe innovations might be attended; that he thought

it

it his duty to lay them before his Excellency, of whose wisdom and knowledge he was too well convinced to doubt his making the most serious reflections upon what he took the liberty to represent to him.

It appears, likewise, by a letter, which the bishop of Tucuman wrote, the beginning of this year, to Pope Innocent X. that Paraguay, and all the neighbouring provinces, swarmed with defamatory libels against the Jesuits, against the two judge-conservators, against Don Sebastian de Leon, and against the visitor, who had condemned those he had found guilty of the violences committed on this occasion against the fathers of the company.

The Jesuits, just as they began to make themselves easy in regard to their reductions on the Parane, found themselves on the point of being driven from those on the Uruguay. Don Christopher Moncha and Velasco, formerly of the order of St. Benedict, but at this time bishop of Buenos Ayres, naturally a rash, headstrong man, had formed a design of changing these reductions into cures or parishes properly called, and establishing secular priests in them instead of the Jesuits, without any apparent motives but those of interest. Don Pedro de Baygorri, their governor, who knew full well the consequences with which such an attempt would infallibly be attended, at first declared, that he was firmly resolved to oppose it, as formally contrary to the reiterated edicts of the catholic kings, to the utmost of his power, as he was bound to do, unless he received orders to the contrary from the royal audience. But, on the bishop's threatening to excommunicate him, if he hindered him from governing his diocese as he thought proper, and the fear of the same difficulties with which Don Gregorio de Hinostrora had been so long involved at the Assumption, stopped his hands. At length, while the governor was deliberating what part he should act, the bishop 1654. 1655.

bishop published a mandate, by which he changed the reductions of the province of Uruguay into cures or parishes properly called, ordered the Jesuits to evacuate them; and invited the ecclesiastics, not only of his own diocese, but likewise of those of Tucuman and Paraguay, to apply to him for them. But not one applied; all knowing, that, poor and troublesome as these livings were, they could not expect to enjoy them long; as, if the Indians did not immediately desert, the governor would, in all probability, soon put them under their old pastors again.

THIS so unexpected indifference in the secular clergy struck the bishop to that degree, that he could not help making several reflections upon it. He pryed more narrowly than ever into the conduct of the Jesuits, against whom he soon ingenuously owned he had taken umbrage on too slight grounds. Accordingly, he not only retracted his mandate, but took for director of his conscience Father Thomas Donvidas, rector of the college of Buenos Ayres; began, under him, the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius; and came out of his retreat, altered to that degree, that those who knew him best, could attribute so prompt and so prodigious an alteration, to nothing but the impression of the sovereign Master of hearts.

THE province of Rio de La Plata had soon
1655. an opportunity to experience, how much it was indebted to the governor for not seconding the alteration, which the bishop proposed to make in the reductions of his diocese. The Frontones, and other Indians in the neighbourhood of Corrientes, having undertaken to ruin that place, unable of itself to make any resistance, and too remote to receive any assistance from the capital, Don Pedro sent to request the superior of the missions to dispatch that way all the militia he could raise in the reductions. These orders were so well executed, that the enemy, finding they were likely to have a whole army of

these

these Neophytes to deal with, immediately dispersed.

THE Neophytes then received orders to march against the Calchaquis, whom the example of the Frontones had engaged to take up arms; but the bare report of their approach obliged them likewise to retire. The two following years, the city of Buenos Ayres having been threatened with a descent by the English, four hundred and fifty of the Neophytes, at the first orders of the governor, flew to his assistance, and supplied him with boats to transport the troops he had sent for to Corrientes; so that the English, who had flattered themselves with the hopes of surprising the Spaniards, no sooner heard of the preparations made to receive them, than they thought proper to steer another course.

THIS year the archbishop of La Plata re- 1655.
ceived orders from his Catholic majesty, to 1656.
cause the errors, in point of faith, with which Don Bernardin had charged the Jesuit missionaries of Paraguay, to be carefully examined into; and, a junto being accordingly appointed for that purpose, it therein appeared, first, that neither the original, nor the translation of the catechism, in which these errors were said to be contained, was the work of the Jesuits. Secondly, that the original (in the Peruvian tongue) had been approved by two councils held at Lima, and the translation by three synods held in the province of the Assumption, and ordered, on pain of excommunication, to be alone made use of in instructing the Guarani Indians. Thirdly, that Don Bernardin, who did not understand the Guarani language, was mistaken, not only in regard to the meaning of some words, but the very spelling and pronunciation of some others.

BUT, to return to Don Blasquez de Valverdè, who had been appointed to examine into the reality of the Uruguay mines, he had not penetrated a great

way

way into that province, when the informer disappeared. But, as he was utterly unacquainted with the country, he soon fell into the hands of the Jesuits, who immediately sent him back to the visitor. The wretch, upon this, terrified with the thoughts of being put to the question, confessed, that he did not know either to read or to write; and that the maps and plans he had produced were put into his hands by his master, Captain Christopher Ramirez de Fuenleal, who, by threats and promises, had obliged him to act the part he had done. Though this, one would imagine, might satisfy the visitor, he thought proper to repair to every place pointed out in the maps, when it appeared, on the strictest survey, that not only there were no mines of gold or silver in these places, but that the soil in them was no way suited to the production of such metals. The visitor, however, was scarce set out on his return, when a stone, veined with some streaks of silver, was brought to him as a specimen of the mines, which he had been looking for to no purpose; but this imposture vanished like the rest; for it appeared, on inquiring into the matter, that this stone had been brought originally out of Peru, and stolen from the pedestal of a statue in the church of St. Francis, by the Indian who had produced it.

THE first news the visitor heard, on his arrival at the Assumption, was, that Captain Christopher Ramirez de Fuenleal, who had been the occasion of his long and painful expedition, had died lately, after retracting all he had said and done against the Jesuits. His first care, therefore, was to add this retractation to the judicial pieces, which composed the account of his visitation. He then condemned the denunciator, Dominick, to be whipt publickly through the streets, after which he intended to have had him hanged; but the Jesuits represented, that the unhappy wretch had been forced by his master to do

every

every thing, and by that means, though with great difficulty, obtained his pardon. This done, he pronounced a definitive sentence in regard to the violences and calumnies committed against the Jesuits in the years 1648 and 1649, in which, after mentioning several retractations besides those we have spoken of, he condemned the guilty, not excepting the corregidors and the alcaides, to a perpetual silence in regard to every thing that had been imputed to these fathers, and to pay all the costs of the prosecution, as likewise the expence of the copies requisite to be sent to his majesty and the royal council of the Indies. His design was to have fined them; but he considered, that the province was poor, and that the ecclesiastical and civil judges, who had already taken cognizance of the affair, had done it. Besides, the criminals had of themselves judicially retracted all they had advanced against the Jesuits, who desired nothing more than to see their innocence fully vindicated. Accordingly, they not only forgave the damages they had obtained against several of the guilty, but even interposed with the greatest zeal to obtain the pardon of those, who had been condemned to fines and imprisonment.

Some years after this, the Indians held in command by the citizens of the Assumption, 1660. who treated them with great inhumanity, revolted, and murdered several of their cruel taskmasters. Their revolt was even so very sudden, that the governor of the province, Don Alonso de Sarmiento, was obliged to shut himself up in a country church with a handful of soldiers, whom he had assembled with great difficulty. But the rebels immediately surrounded him, and straitened him to such a degree, that he could not send for assistance, even to the nearest reductions of his jurisdiction. However, the missionaries there, having got intelligence of his distress, immediately dispatched to his

 relief

relief a large body of their Neophytes, who, having reached the revolted Indians by forced marches, fell ſo unexpectedly upon them, that they killed a great number of them, and diſperſed the remainder.

These brave fellows had ſcarce got home, when the Guaycurus, in a body, entered their country to take vengeance of the aſſiſtance they, four years before, had given againſt them to Don Andrew Leon de Garavito; but theſe barbarians met with ſo warm a reception, that they have not ever ſince dared to ſhew their faces there again; nor was this the whole of their diſgrace; for, ſome time after, the governor having ſent orders to the Neophytes to chaſtize the Guaycurus for their temerity, about a hundred of them entered their country; and, though ſo few in number, made them ſmart ſeverely for it.

1660.
1670. Almost all the ſucceeding years were ſignalized, in the letters ſent to Madrid, by expeditions like thoſe we have been mentioning, which ſpread far and near the terror of their arms, and were the moſt inconteſtible proofs of their loyalty; and all this at a time, that Don Bernardin's agent at the court of Spain filled his memorials with the bittereſt invectives againſt theſe new Chriſtians and their paſtors.

Nor was it with their ſword only they ſerved their ſovereign and their fellow-ſubjects; the governors of theſe provinces had already began to make uſe of them to equal purpoſe in the public works. We have already ſeen, with what ardour they rebuilt the church of St. Lucia, on the bare invitation of Don Alonſo Sarmiento. Some time after a body of them had delivered Santafé from the fury of the Calchaquis, it being thought requiſite to remove that town to a ſpot leſs expoſed to the inroads of theſe barbarians, they cheerfully took upon them the execution of this deſign, which, for ſeveral years ſucceſſively, took up a great number of them; and this, according to their laudable

laudable custom, without consenting to receive either wages or subsistence; or even the expences of their journey. Some time after, they built the fort of Tabati in the same manner; and, in 1668 and the following years, they worked, to the number of five hundred, on the fortifications of the port and citadel, and cathedral of Buenos Ayres; so that these new Christians, who, whatever Don Bernardin de Cardenas had advanced to the contrary, had been acquired to Spain merely by the virtue of the cross, were, in spite of the slightness of the tribute they paid to the catholic kings, those, perhaps, of their subjects, from whom they derived the greatest services. But their natural subjects made, it seems, no account of these services, as they did not immediately benefit by them.

BOOK IX.

Indians of Chaco chastized. Wisdom and disinterestedness of the Jesuits on the occasion. Portugueze colony of the Holy Sacrament settled on the northern banks of the Rio de La Plata. Excessive pretensions of the Portugueze. The colony of the Holy Sacrament attacked and taken by the Spaniards and reduction Indians. Great bravery and loyalty of the latter on the occasion. Proposal to remove some of them to the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres rejected by the court of Madrid, and why. Portugueze allowed a settlement in the Bay of Rio de La Plata, under certain restrictions. Account of the Chiquito Indians, and their country. They are civilized and converted by the Jesuits, in spite of the greatest violence and fraud in several private persons amongst the Spaniards to prevent it. New decrees of the court of Madrid on the occasion. Mamelus amongst the Chiquites; carry off a great number of women and children, whose husbands and fathers surrender themselves rather than be separated from them; are at length totally defeated, and their captives freed. Various attempts to discover a better communication between Tucuman and Paraguay. Accession of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish dominions. Apprehensions of the new king of Spain in regard to his American territories. Orders to the Jesuits of Paraguay in consequence thereof. Loyalty of the Indians under their care on the occasion. The Portugueze resolve to re-establish the colony of the Holy Sacrament. Diversion made by some barbarous Indians in their favour defeated. Colony of the Holy Sacrament re-established; taken again by the Spaniards, with the assistance of the reduction Indians, who behave with their usual loyalty and bravery. Newly converted Chiquites emulate them; assist in chastizing the barbarous nations of Chaco, under Don Estevan de Urigar,

Urigar, governor of Tucuman, a most extraordinary personage. New nations discovered on the occasion, most of whom, with many already known, are civilized and converted. Useful reflections made by the Jesuits. New attempts to discover a better communication between Tucuman and Paraguay. Death of Don Estevan de Urigar. Barbarous nations of Chaco take advantage of it to invade and waste the Spanish settlements in their neighbourhood. Christian Chiquites, twice called upon to join the Spaniards in chastizing them, behave with great zeal and loyalty.

OF the three provinces, in which the Jesuits of Paraguay laboured to propagate the Gospel, Tucuman was the only one, that could not derive any advantages from the Indians of their reductions, as its governors had no authority over them. Accordingly, for want of their assistance, it was all this time continually exposed to new alarms from the Indians of Chaco; so that there now appeared no other means of putting a stop to them, than by engaging these barbarians to receive the Gospel. As often, therefore, as there appeared the least hopes of being able to introduce it, the governors applied to the fathers of the company, who, though convinced that it would be next to impossible to convert a people who imagined it was merely to make slaves of them that any pains were taken to make them Christians, never refused to comply with the governor's intentions. 1653. 1668.

SOMETIMES even, when they had missionaries to spare, they did not wait to be prayed to pay these people a visit; and this year, in particular, their provincial himself, though aged seventy, conducted two Jesuits into the heart of the country; but, though these fathers were at first received with the greatest marks of confidence and affection, they found it impossible to convince the Indians, that the religion they

 preached

preached to them, was any other than a snare laid to deprive them of their liberty.

Two or three years after this the Mocoyis, having broken into the territory of Esteco, ruined or plundered every thing they met with, till two Jesuits obtained a peace from them. But the officer, under whose government it was concluded, had scarce expired, when they renewed their hostilities. Upon this, the new governor, Don Angelo de Paredo, raised an army, not only to put a stop to their courses, but to chastize their insolence. He was for taking two Jesuits along with him; but these fathers begged to be excused, alledging, that their appearing with soldiers would be sufficient to deter these Indians from listening to them as preachers. Don Angelo, however, had such good success, that, in various skirmishes, he took upwards of eighteen hundred prisoners, who were treated with great gentleness. These the Jesuits solicited the general to form into a reduction; and he would have complied with their request, but that he was afraid of disgusting his officers, who had most of them made the campaign at their own expence, in hopes of having all the prisoners they could make for their pains. He took care, however, at the request of these fathers, not to separate the husbands from their wives, or the children from their parents; and that those men, who were not as yet married, should have leave, before they were put into the hands of their masters, to choose wives for themselves; that, on receiving baptism, they might likewise be married as Christians. He, besides, exacted a promise from their masters not to treat them as slaves.

Don Angelo offered to give forty of the principal families in command to the Jesuits of Corduba, not only, he said, to acknowledge the services, which the fathers of the company daily rendered to religion and the province; but, likewise, because he was persuaded, that the Indians bestowed

on

on them would be much better treated, better instructed, and more easily gained over to Jesus Christ. But the fathers did not think proper to accept his offer. There were scarce prisoners enough to content all those who laid claim to them; and though there were, they did not choose to authorize by their example a practice, which was so shamefully abused. Besides, it would have been highly indecent in them to appear more interested than the general, who would not keep a single prisoner for his own use. Don Angelo, however, selected a good number of the most promising children, whom he distributed amongst the colleges of Tucuman, to be there brought up and instructed, and afterwards serve the missionaries as interpreters and catechists. After this distribution, there remained several prisoners of both sexes, whom, on account of their age and infirmities, none of the officers had thought proper to accept. These the Jesuits offered to maintain, till they could find persons willing to take them from off their hands; and in the mean time treated them with so much charity, that they gained every soul of them over to Jesus Christ.

Don Angelo intended to have continued the war, though it were only to make prisoners, 1673. which might serve as so many hostages for the security of the missionaries, whom he intended to send amongst these barbarians; and who heretofore used to be considered as so many victims going to certain death. He, besides, imagined, that by obliging their encommendaroes to treat them with great lenity, their countrymen might be brought to believe, that the Spaniards were not so bad men as they imagined, and did not want to make Christians of them merely with a view to make them slaves. But so many other affairs interposed, that his commission expired before he could take the field again.

1677. 1679. THINGS remained in this ſtate of inaction till towards the middle of the year 1679, when Don Philip Rege Corbulon, governor of Paraguay, received advice, that the Portugueze of Rio de Janeyro were, by orders of the infant Don Pedro, regent of Portugal, fitting out fourteen veſſels, and embarking troops, arms, ammunition, and every thing elſe requiſite for a grand eſtabliſhment, in order to make one on the iſlands of St. Gabriel, or the adjacent continent; and that his highneſs had choſen for that purpoſe, the flower of his beſt troops, and given the command of them to Don Manuel de Lobo, an officer of diſtinguiſhed birth and merit, and at that time governor of Rio de Janeyro. It was even reported at the Aſſumption, that a body of Portugueze troops was actually ſet out by land in order to attack the reductions of the Parana, and afterwards fall upon thoſe of the Uruguay; or at leaſt haraſs both, and thereby hinder them from ſending any aſſiſtance to Buenos Ayres.

DON PHILIP, on the receipt of this intelli-
1679. gence, diſpatched two expreſſes, one to the Indians of the Parana, to deſire them to be on their guard, and another to Don Joſeph de Garro, governor of Rio de La Plata, to communicate to him the intelligence he had received. He received for anſwer to the firſt courier, that he could not but know, that, though the reductions might poſſibly guard againſt a ſurprize, they were in no condition to reſiſt the attack of regular troops, ſince they had been ſtript of their fire-arms. This had been done in virtue of a royal decree, iſſued in the year 1661, in conſequence of the memoirs publiſhed by Don Bernardin de Cardenas, and the declamations of his agent at Madrid. By this decree the miſſioners of the Parana Indians were ordered to depoſit theſe arms in the king's magazines at the Aſſumption; and not

but

put them again into the hands of the Neophytes, till they should be called upon to serve his Majesty, or have occasion for them to defend themselves against the Mamelus."

This decree, it is true, had been afterwards revoked; but the arms, it is probable, had been dissipated in the interim. One thing is certain, that but a very small part of them had been returned to their owners; and, in the present exigency, the governor could not supply them with above two hundred and seventy muskets, the regular troops themselves being scarce better provided. To compensate this deficiency, he thought proper to bestow on two of their corregidors, with whose valour and capacity he was acquainted, the title of camp-masters; and then recommended to them to send parties from time to time towards Brazil, in order to observe the enemy's motions.

These orders were executed with equal conduct and expedition. Three detachments, of about four hundred men each, set out for the frontiers of Brazil. The first remounted the Parana in light canoes; the two others marched by land, one towards St. Paul of Piratiningue, and the other towards the sea-shore, which they coasted for a long time, keeping constantly to the south. In this manner, both these parties made upwards of three hundred leagues, without being able to discover any thing; till the last, having pushed as far as the neighbourhood of Cape St. Mary, fell in with four and twenty men belonging to a Portugueze vessel, which, having been detached a-head by the Rio de Janeyro fleet, had the misfortune of being shipwrecked on the coast; and were now making the best of their way towards Buenos Ayres, which they flattered themselves the governor of Rio de Janeyro's project had not as yet reached.

HAD

Had the Neophytes listened to the first sentiments, which must naturally be excited by the sight of an enemy whose designs they were acquainted with, and who recalled to their mind the mischiefs done them by the Portugueze of St. Paul of Piratininigue, they would certainly have killed every man of them; but their missionaries had recommended to them, above all things, not to commit any act of hostility; and, in case they should be attacked, to stand as much as possible on the defensive, till they had acquainted the governor of the province with what they had discovered, and received orders from him how to act. They even carried their precaution still farther; for, though they took the properest measures to hinder their escape, yet, when they observed how harrassed they were with a long and painful march, and how greatly distressed for want of provisions and cloaths, they very generously divided amongst them the little they had left of their own; offered them mules to carry them, and guides to conduct them, to the reduction of Kings, being the nearest, though at no less than a hundred leagues distance, and where they were received with a cordiality they would not, perhaps, have met with in their own country.

1679. Here they were informed, that Don Ma-
1680. nuel de Lobo had cast anchor, with his fleet, under the islands of St. Gabriel. They would have been very glad to join him; and the good reception they had met with inspired the captain, who happened to be of the number, with confidence enough to beg the missionary who governed this church, to supply him with provisions and guides to repair to his general; but the father made answer, that it was not in his power to grant him what he requested; and that he must apply to the superior of the missions, then at the reduction of St. Thomas, about fifteen leagues from that of the Kings.

This superior was Father Altamirano, a native of Santafé, and a descendant of one of the first conquerors of Paraguay. The Portugueze captain wrote him a very polite letter; but, persuaded that something more than fine words would be requisite to make him comply with his request, he gave him to understand, that it was the interest of his Catholic Majesty, that he should be well treated on this occasion; that a refusal might bring on a war, which the Spaniards of Paraguay would find it no easy matter to sustain; and in which Charles the Second would take it very ill he should involve him for so mere a trifle. He then represented to him the graces and favours, with which the Kings of Portugal had loaded his company, and which greatly surpassed all those it had received from the other sovereigns of Europe.

Father Altamirano answered, that he was extremely sorry for his misfortune; that he was no stranger to the obligations his company lay under to the most serene kings of Portugal; but that it was equally indebted to the august house of Austria; that, after all, a simple religious, like him, entirely occupied from his youth with the functions proper to his institute, could not be supposed well enough versed in state-affairs to judge for himself on the present occasion; that his Catholic Majesty had a governor at Buenos Ayres, to whom it was more natural he should apply; and that he knew this officer well enough to be answerable for his granting every thing, that was not prejudicial to the service of the king, his master.

The Portugueze captain, upon this answer, resolved to set out for Buenos Ayres; though he made no doubt of his being stopped there; and Father Altamirano gave orders for furnishing him with every thing requisite for the journey; a sufficient number of canoes, and plenty of provisions; besides an escort of four hundred men, whom he ordered to render him all the

ſervice in their power. After a month's navigation down the Uruguay, they landed at the mouth of a little river, called *de Las Conchas*, which flows from the Weſt into the Rio de La Plata, about four leagues above Buenos Ayres.

As ſoon as the governor heard of their arrival, he ſent his coach to the captain, and the ſerjeant-major, Don John Cabrera de Velaſco, in order to compliment him in his name, and conduct him to the capital, where, on his arrival in the ſquare before the palace, he found the whole garriſon under arms, and was ſaluted by a general diſcharge of their ſmall-arms. The governor then, after the uſual compliments, conducted him to his palace, where an apartment had been prepared for him. The reſt of the Portugueze were lodged in the principal houſes, where they were treated with the greateſt humanity and politeneſs. The day following, the governor, who immediately found his gueſt to be one of the officers, who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war which had followed the revolution of Portugal, gave him ſeveral entertainments, and reviewed in his preſence the four hundred Indians, who had eſcorted him to the reduction of the Kings, and from thence to Buenos Ayres. The Portugueze captain was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee them ſo different under arms from what they had appeared to him during the journey; and ſtill more at the manner in which they performed their exerciſe, and a mock-battle with which it was followed.

For this purpoſe, they divided into two bodies, one repreſenting Portugueze, and the other Spaniards. The two commanders began by ſending heralds, to proclaim their reciprocal pretenſions; and theſe, not agreeing, declared war with the uſual forms. Every man then repaired to his colours; and, the charge being ſounded, the two parties attacked each other; and, in a ſhort time, the fray grew ſo warm, that a

ſtranger

ſtranger might have miſtaken it for a real combat. At length the pretended Portugueze were obliged to give way, and soon after were entirely routed. Several of them fell on the ground, and personated men that had been killed: thoſe, from whom the Spaniards attempted to force their colours, after many ſtruggles to defend themſelves, ſeemed not to give them up but with their lives. The conquerors having then preſented them to the governor, he ordered the ſame compliment to be paid to the Portugueze captain, who loudly declared, that theſe Indians were invincible, in caſe they could behave in a real engagement with as much order, ſpirit, and addreſs, as they had done in this fictitious one, with which they had entertained him.

At the concluſion of theſe ſpectacles, the governor told his gueſt, that he took him to be too gallant a man, and too well acquainted with the duties of his charge, to take it ill he ſhould detain him and all his company, till he knew the pleaſure of his ſuperiors on the occaſion. This compliment greatly ſurpriſed the Portugueze captain, as he did not think the governor knew any thing as yet of the arrival of the Portugueze fleet at the iſland of St. Gabriel. Several things, however, had already happened, of which even himſelf knew nothing. As ſoon as the governor of Rio de La Plata had, in concert with that of Paraguay, ſent the Indians of the reductions to make diſcoveries, he diſpatched a brigantine to viſit all the creeks, all the havens, and all the iſlands, on both ſides of the river below Buenos Ayres. But the commander, not imagining that the Portugueze would have the aſſurance to take up their poſt ſo near the capital, neglected making the tour of the iſlands of St. Gabriel, and ſo returned without ſeeing any thing of them.

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A few days after, ſome of the inhabitants
1680. going to cut wood in a little creek of the continent, ſituated behind the largeſt of theſe iſlands, and better ſheltered from the winds than the port of Buenos Ayres itſelf, were greatly ſurpriſed to find in it ſome buildings newly finiſhed; and immediately came back to acquaint the governor of the province with what they had ſeen. The governor, upon this, immediately ſent an officer on board a brigantine to know of thoſe, who had poſted themſelves there, who they were, and what they meant by ſo doing. This officer, as ſoon as he got within ſight of the principal habitation, hung out a flag of truce, which brought a Portugueze to him, who anſwered all his queſtions. He then deſired to be conducted to the commander; which being granted, he was greatly ſurpriſed to find himſelf in a regular fortreſs, mounted with cannon, and provided with ſlaves, and magazines ſtocked with every thing requiſite to build and defend a city; and four veſſels, beſides, riding at anchor under the walls of it.

Don Manuel de Lobo, the commander, gave him leave to take an exact ſurvey of every thing, and draw up a judicial memorial of what he ſaw; upon which, the governor of Buenos Ayres ſent, the very next day, to aſk him, in the name of his Catholic Majeſty, by what authority he had made an eſtabliſhment in a country belonging to the crown of Spain. Don Manuel anſwered, in writing, that the Portugueze had been authorized by the king, their ſovereign, to make ſettlements in all parts of the continent, that were not as yet inhabited; and that, having deliberated on the affair with the ſovereign chamber of Rio de Janeyro, he could find no ſituation properer for a new ſettlement, than that he had pitched upon, which he, beſides, conſidered as a part of Brazil.

To

To this declaration the governor immediately replied by a formal ſummons to withdraw directly from this place, which had been in the poſſeſſion of the crown of Spain for upwards of a century; and not infringe the treaty of peace, by which a good underſtanding between the crowns of Spain and Portugal had been lately reſtored. To this ſummons Don Manuel made no other anſwer, than that he was on the territory of the king, his maſter, and would remain there. The governor, leſt he ſhould be thought too haſty in an affair of ſo much conſequence, and perhaps, too, in order to gain time, had recourſe to negociation; and, for this purpoſe, aſſembled a great council, to which he invited the biſhop, and all the divines and juriſconſults of the city, beſides ſuch of the inhabitants, as he thought beſt ſkilled in coſmographical affairs.

This council, having examined the rights of the crowns of Spain to the lands the Portugueze had taken poſſeſſion of, drew up a memorial; and added to it the Dutch map, which the Portugueze themſelves made uſe of in their voyages, and likewiſe the treaty of peace of the year 1668, in which it was ſtipulated, that the province of St. Vincent ſhould be conſidered as the frontier of Brazil on the ſide of Paraguay; and the governor ſent copies of all theſe pieces to Don Manuel de Lobo, by perſons beſt qualified to make him ſenſible of all their weight, with earneſt entreaties not to reduce him to the ſad neceſſity of rekindling a war, which had already coſt ſo much blood, eſpecially with a nation, for whom he had the greateſt eſteem and affection.

Don Manuel, firmly abiding by his firſt anſwer, produced to the governor's deputies a map of the world, drawn up in Liſbon in 1678, according to which the three hundred leagues of coaſt from Rio de Janeyro to the mouth of Rio de La Plata, and the adjacent continent, as far as Tucuman, belonged to the

crown

crown of Portugal. Nay, a line drawn by it took in the two provinces of Paraguay and Rio de La Plata, and all the lands of the continent from the weſtern banks of the river quite to Tucuman, with all the towns ſtanding upon them, as making part of Brazil, though theſe towns had been built by the Spaniards. Nay, ſome of the Portugueze had the aſſurance to advance, that the dominions of his Portugueze majeſty extended as far as the mines of Potoſi; founding their pretenſions, it is probable, on the expedition of Alexis Garcia, mentioned in the beginning of this hiſtory.

THESE exceſſive pretenſions greatly aſtoniſhed the Spaniards. They deſired to know upon what they were grounded. They again oppoſed to them the ſea-charts, by which the Portugueze had conſtantly ſailed, and the laſt treaty of peace, which had regulated the limits of the two powers in ſuch a manner, as to leave no room for future conteſtations. They proved, that Cape St. Catherine had always belonged to the crown of Caſtile; that ſome Portugueze, who had attempted to ſettle there, were diſlodged by the Spaniards, without the king of Portugal making any repreſentations on the occaſion; and that, if the Spaniards had abandoned the ſettlement they had themſelves made there, it was becauſe they thought proper to tranſport the inhabitants to other provinces, which it was more their intereſt to people.

DON MANUEL ſeemed ſo far ſenſible of the weight of all theſe arguments, as to content himſelf with ſaying, that he had done nothing but by the orders of his ſovereign, who could alone revoke them. The governor, therefore, finding there was no time to loſe to prepare for a war, which he now conſidered as unavoidable, diſpatched two expreſſes, one to Lima, and the other to La Plata, with letters to the viceroy and the royal audience of Charças, giving an account of the enterprize formed by the Portugueze, and

and the steps he had uselessly taken to oblige them to retire from the territories of his Catholick majesty. But, before these two tribunals could answer him, they thought proper to examine the crown of Spain's title to the country where the Portugueze wanted to settle; and having unanimously voted it incontestible, they immediately dispatched orders to the governor to attack directly the new colony, to which the Portugueze had given the name of the *Blessed Sacrament*.

The first thing Don Joseph de Garro did, on receiving these orders, was to communicate them to Don Manuel de Lobo; but they made no impression upon him. Upon this, therefore, he immediately gave orders for raising troops, not only in his own province but in Tucuman, pursuant to the leave he had received from the viceroy for that purpose. The towns of Santafe and Corrientes, both under his jurisdiction, could not furnish above a company each. Don Martin de Garoyer, serjeant major and lieutenant general of Tucuman, sent him four hundred from Corduba, levied, clothed, and mounted at the expence of the province, under the command of the camp-master Don Francis Gomez and Texeda; and Don John Diaz de Andiro, governor of Tucuman, being informed of its loyalty, not only highly commended it, but ordered it to be made publick in all the towns of his government, with a view to engage the inhabitants to follow so glorious an example.

Don Joseph de Garro had likewise written very early to the superior of the reductions of the Uruguay, to beg he might send him directly three thousand of his Neophytes. But the messenger, having been obliged to travel two hundred and fifty leagues before he could find the superior, took up more time than could well be spared in so pressing an emergency. The promptitude, however, with which the orders brought by him were executed, made ample amends for the delay; for in eleven days an army of Indians was

 ready

ready to take the field. This army consisted of horse and foot. Such of the foot, as had fire arms, were divided into companies of one hundred men each; and the rest, who had nothing but bows and arrows, lances and slings, as likewise the horse, into companies of fifty men. Five hundred mules followed them with provisions, besides what they themselves could carry; with as many oxen to draw the artillery, four thousand well trained horses to break the enemy's ranks, in case there should be a necessity for fighting on level ground, and a well-furnished hospital

The different bodies, which composed this little army, being ordered to assemble at the reduction of the Kings, they all met there, colours flying and drums beating, on the day appointed for that purpose. But the Spanish officers, who were to command them, not being as yet arrived, they thought proper to wait for them, till the missionaries, who attended them in quality of chaplains, considering that not only they were wasting their provisions to no purpose, but that the severity of the weather began to cause disorders amongst them, thought they might take upon themselves to make them continue their march; and it was certainly well judged, for the halt they had made had already cost them two hundred men, of whom some were dead, and the others disabled from action. But the missionaries not only replaced them on the spot, but raised three hundred men more to recruit the companies; as fast as they might stand in need of it. They then set out from the reduction of the Kings in three columns, each commanded by an Indian camp-master; and, as this reduction lies on the banks of the Uruguay, one of the three columns was embarked upon thirty Balzas, whilst the two others coasted both sides of the river, that those who happened to tire might take the benefit of water carriage.

At length, they arrived within three leagues of the colony, where the camp-master, Don Anthony de

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Vera Muzica, entruſted with the ſiege, waited to receive them. And, as all the Spaniſh troops deſtined for the ſiege were not as yet arrived, he employed the interim to perfect the Indians in their exerciſe, and form them to a ſervice, with which they were not as yet acquainted; and he had great reaſon to be ſurpriſed at the ſhortneſs of the time, in which he compaſſed it. This was the fruit of their docility. The Portugueze general had, on his ſide, made the beſt uſe of all the time that had been given him. He had added new fortifications to his citadel, and furniſhed every place with ſtrong batteries. Almoſt all his ſoldiers, and ſeveral of his officers, had been draughted from the old Portugueze troops, that had ſecured the crown of Portugal to the Houſe of Braganza.

The general himſelf was worthy to command ſuch brave fellows. But he did not, at firſt, imagine that he ſhould have ſo numerous an army to deal with. He had, beſides, been too dilatory in ſending for ſuccours to Rio de-Janeyro, eſpecially, as his enterprize, the true object of which was not known at Brazil till after his departure, had appeared unjuſt to ſome, and raſh to the greateſt number, ſo that none were to be found there willing to ſecond it. The officer, he had left there to command in his abſence, in vain offered the moſt advantageous terms to ſuch as would enliſt; and even embarked his own ſon, a knight of the order of Chriſt, in hope his example might ſpirit up the young nobility; but not one of them offered to follow it. This univerſal reluctancy laid him under a neceſſity of interpoſing his authority, and even uſing compulſion. But theſe meaſures took up ſo much time, that the ſuccours procured by them arrived too late.

The governor of Rio de La Plata himſelf, though much better ſerved, had not been able to bring together above four thouſand men, including Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians, moſt of whom were in command; for he did not think proper to weaken his gar-

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rifon, as there was then no Spanifh veffel at Buenos Ayres to oppofe the Portugueze, who, having four fhips, might be tempted to fhift the fcene of action by attempting a defcent there. But Don Anthony de Vera Muzica, being of opinion that, with three hundred Spaniards and three thoufand reduction Indians, he fhould be able to make himfelf mafter of the place, applied for leave to begin the attack.

Don Joseph, however, did not think proper to grant it, till he had made another attempt to avoid a war, which could not be attended with any advantages to his province; and which he forefaw, would not be fo readily terminated, in cafe the crown of Portugal fhould pique itfelf upon continuing it. With this view, he again fent to reprefent to Don Manuel de Lobo the impoffibility of his holding out againft fuch fuperior forces; he protefted to him, that there was nothing he would not cheerfully do to extricate him from the perplexed fituation, in which he faw him; and that, if he would take the wifeft refolution, namely, that of returning home to his government, he would fupply him with plenty of provifions for his voyage, and return him all the prifoners made by the Indians of the reductions. He conjured him to fave himfelf the melancholy reflection of having rejected an advice, which religion, reafon, and honour, induced him to offer, and of having fuffered himfelf to be dazzled by the glory of fupporting an enterprize, which the wifeft men, even of his own nation, could not but difapprove.

This letter he fent to the general of the Spanifh forces, who had as yet merely obtained leave to block up the place. But then, he had fo difpofed his forces by extending them, making the cavalry alight, and placing the horfes behind them in fquadrons, that his army appeared almoft double of what it really was. Accordingly, feveral of the Portugueze officers repre-fented to their commander, that it would be the height

of

of rashness to insist on their standing a siege with such unequal forces; and, when the trumpet sent by the camp-master had delivered his message, most of them imagined, that their commander would accept of such favourable conditions. But Don Manuel concluded from the reasonableness of them, that the Spaniards were afraid of him; and, therefore, haughtily rejected them.

The camp-master, after giving the governor an account of the Portugueze general's obstinacy, represented to him, that, in case he delayed ever so little the attack, he was very much afraid the extreme cold and other inconveniencies of the season might oblige his troops to quit their ranks. Don Joseph, upon this, gave him leave to act as he thought proper; and, accordingly, the army set out next morning by day break. It afterwards halted to hear mass; when every man, we are well assured, received the communion. The remainder of the day was spent in regulating the order of the attack; and the day following, being the 16th of August, the army decamped again, a little after midnight, in the following order. The four thousand horses without riders, brought by the Indians of the reductions, were placed in the front; these Indians themselves marched next, in three columns, commanded by their own camp-masters, and by three Spanish officers, Don John Aguilara, Don Alexander d'Aguirre, and Don John de Frutas. These troops composed the main body of the army. The rear guard was made up of the governor's forces.

All were a-foot, the commander having chosen this disposition, that, after the besieged had discharged all their cannon against the horses, the men, who could suffer but little or nothing by it, might be able to scale the place, before they could prepare for a second discharge. But the Indian camp-masters represented to him, that this would be leading all his men to certain slaughter; that the shot of the place could not but greatly gall the horses, who, not hav-

ing people enough to restrain their fury, would immediately fall back upon the army, and throw it into such confusion, that the Portugueze might easily cut the Spaniards to pieces before he could rally them. Don Anthony approved this opinion; and was not a little surprised, that those Indians who had never before been present at any expedition of this kind, should at once observe, what neither himself nor any of his officers had foreseen. He immediately ordered the horses to the wings and to the rear, to be made use of as there might be occasion; and thus the three columns of Indians found themselves in the front of the army, which arrived by day-break at the foot of the fortress.

The general had forbid his troops to begin the attack, till he had made a signal by firing a carbine. But a Neophyte, who, in the mean time, had courage enough to mount one of the outworks, finding the centinel asleep, cut off his head; and, another centinel, happening to spy the Indian, immediately fired a carbine, to give notice to the garrison that the enemy had got upon the out-work. The Neophytes, who, as it was yet dark, could not distinguish from whence the noise came, taking it for the signal of their general; that very instant, one of their columns, commanded by the Cacique Ignatius Amandau, leaped, all to a man, into the out-work. The Portugueze, who in their surprize concluded the whole Spanish army had got amongst them, flew precipitately to the main body of the place in great numbers; and began to defend themselves by setting fire to a culverine, which was so heavily loaded, that it burst in the discharge. At the same time, the two other Indian columns entered by two other places; so that the besieged, before they could look about them, found themselves invested in their fort, and their powder magazine in the hands of the besiegers.

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This ſtruck ſo great a terror into them, that one of their captains threw himſelf, with ten or twelve ſoldiers of his company, into a boat, in order to gain one of the Portugueze veſſels in the road; but they were met by a large boat containing thirty Spaniards, who made them all priſoners. Some others, who attempted to eſcape, were not ſo happy. They crowded into a boat in ſuch a numbers, that, not having room enough to ply their oars, they were obliged to remain motionleſs on the water, where ſome Indians, who ſwam to them, in endeavouring to make them ſurrender, overſet the boat, by which every man on board periſhed.

In the mean time, the Neophytes made up to the next baſtion, not dreaming of their wanting ladders, till they got to the foot of it; however, without waiting for thoſe the general had ordered to be ſent after them, they faſtened themſelves to the walls, and invited the Spaniards to get upon their ſhoulders, which ſeveral accordingly did after the example of Don John d' Aguilara, who ſoon pulled up the Portugueze colours, and planted thoſe of Spain in the room of them. But the moment after he received a muſket ſhot, which broke his arm. By this time, the Portugueze, having recovered a little from their firſt fright, formed and defended themſelves with great bravery. One of their captains, called Manuel Galban, running through the ranks, by his voice and his example animated the ſoldiers, putting them in mind, that they were Portugueze, a name ſo formidable to the Spaniards, and did ſo many fine actions, that even his enemies themſelves, when he fell overpowered by numbers, could not refuſe him their tears and their praiſes. This brave man had for wife a Heroine, who, ſword in hand, fought by his ſide as long as he lived. On ſeeing him fall, the Spaniards, full of admiration for her virtue, cried out to her to ſurrender; but, wholly taken up with the deſire of revenging her huſ-

 band,

band, ſhe ruſhed into the thickeſt of the fray, and there found the death ſhe ſeemed ſo much to covet.

Both ſides fought with equal obſtinacy, though the Portugueze had now no other motive left them, but that of honour. This alone, however, made them make ſuch prodigious efforts, that they, at laſt, repulſed, and threw into ſome diſorder, the Indian column commanded by the camp-maſter, Ignatius Amandas. But this gallant officer, enraged to ſee his men turn their backs to the enemy, ran up to them ſword in hand, and brought them back to the charge. Upon this, as if the ſhame of having fled had rendered life odious to them, they fell ſo furiouſly upon the Portugueze, that in a minute they covered the ground with them; and, as they did not underſtand their language, or took them for Mamelus, would have killed them all to the laſt man, though they called out for quarters, if ſome Spaniſh officers had not immediately come up, and given notice to the Indians, that the battle was at an end.

About two hundred Portugueze were killed on this occaſion, and the reſt made priſoners. Their general, being ſick, had no ſhare in the engagement. The Indians made ſo ſtrict a ſearch after him, in order to kill him as the author of this war, that Don Anthony de Vera was obliged to ſtand ſentry at the door of his apartment, to hinder them from getting at him. When the danger was over, he went in to pay him a viſit, treated him with great politeneſs, and made him an offer of his ſhare of the plunder. There was no diſagreement about the reſt. The Indians, utter ſtrangers to the value of ſeveral things that fell into their hands, abandoned, without difficulty, the moſt precious to the Spaniards. Nay, many of them who found ſome braſs and copper veſſels full of ambergreaſe, dazzled by the brightneſs of the veſſels, threw away the contents. The Spaniards loſt but ſix men on this occaſion. Of the Indians thirty were killed and a greater number wounded.

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THE missionaries, who accompanied their Neophytes in this expedition, were always at hand to assist the dying, without distinction of friends or foes; and their zeal did them so much the greater honour with both Portugueze and Spaniards, as, in order to perform that duty, they were often obliged to expose themselves, at one and the same time, to the fire of both. But the greatest advantage they derived from this expedition, was its opening the eyes of several persons prejudiced against their reductions; and making them sensible of the important services that might be expected from them on similar occasions. Accordingly, their provincial received the compliments of Don Melchior de Linan and Cisneros, archbishop of Lima and viceroy of Peru, the superior tribunals, the governor of the province, and several other persons of the first distinction; and, for a long time after, nothing was to be heard from one end of South America to the other, but the praises of their Neophytes, who came most of them two hundred leagues to this service, almost naked, and that too, though the weather, at this season, was extremely cold; for, at this time, their whole dress, when obliged to take the field, consisted of a simple pair of drawers. Besides, though not above one fourth of them had fire arms, and they had veteran and well armed troops to deal with, and a place so scale lined with musketeers and defended by a numerous artillery, it was apparent to all, that they had the greatest share in the taking of it. To crown all, their service was well known not to have cost his Catholick Majesty one single farthing.

THIS service was greatly enhanced by the success of some English pirates, who at the very same time, with a single ship they had carried off near Panama, ravaged all the coasts of the South Sea, in spite of five armed boats fitted out against them at Lima; sailed through the streights of le Maire, and carried home

home immenſe riches to England; every body ſaying, that, if there had been Indians from the reductions of Paraguay in Peru and Chili, their coaſts would not have been thus ſhamefully inſulted. The Archbiſhop Viceroy expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe, in a letter to the royal council of the Indies; and the camp-maſter Don Andrew de Roblez, who about this time arrived from Spain in order to ſucceed Don Joſeph de Garro in his government of Rio de la Plata, wrote to the viceroy to conjure him, not to let the important and diſintereſted ſervices of theſe new Chriſtians go without their reward.

He had like, however, to have done them a very bad turn by endeavouring to ſhow how much he eſteemed them; for he wrote to his Majeſty, that he thought it would be neceſſary to form a village of theſe brave Neophytes in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres; and, his letter having been read in council, it was there reſolved, that one thouſand families ſhould be draughted from the reductions for this new eſtabliſhment. We learn this fact from a decree of Philip V. addreſſed in the year 1726 to Don Maurice Bruno de Zavala, governor of Rio de la Plata, in which are the following words. "But Charles II. of glorious memory, reflecting that the changing of climates might chagrine theſe faithful Indians, and ſubject them to violent diſorders, by making them breathe an air to which they were not accuſtomed, thought proper to repeal this order by a ſchedule iſſued in the year 1683." This repeal was, no doubt, owing to the repreſentations of their Miſſionaries, who wrote to Charles II. that the new Chriſtians of Paraguay would in a ſhort time become quite different men from what they had hitherto been, were they to be ſettled ſo near any town, one eſpecially where there was ſo great a reſort of ſtrangers as Buenos Ayres; or even in the neighbourhood of any Spaniſh habitation; for the prince readily diſcerned the ſolidity of theſe reaſons;

and Philip V. his successor, and the royal council of the Indies, have been always of the same way of thinking.

But, to return to what concerns the colony of the Blessed Sacrament, Don Pedro, prince regent of Portugal, was greatly mortified at the news of its being taken. He ordered his ambassador at Madrid to make heavy complaints on the occasion to his Catholick Majesty; and we are told by Rochapita, in his history of Brazil, that Don Pedro threatened to renew the war, unless he received satisfaction for this hostility; that Charles II. intimidated by this menace, sent the duke of Juvenazzo to appease him; that the duke could not obtain an audience from the Infant, till he had declared, that he had orders to comply with every thing his royal highness might think proper to require; that Don Pedro, satisfied with this declaration, insisted upon nothing but the restitution of the place and all the effects that had been found in it, and the enlargement of the prisoners taken by the Spaniards; that, in consequence of this accommodation, Don Francis Naper de Lancaster was set at liberty and returned to Portugal, where the prince regent, to indemnify him for his losses, gave him the government of Rio de Janeyro, and that of the colony of the Blessed Sacrament, which was re-established, and put in a better condition than it was before the Spaniards had taken it. 1681.

But it is plain, that this author was very ill informed, and confounded two very distant events; for it is certain, that Don Manuel de Lobo, founder of the colony, died a prisoner in Peru, where he had been removed soon after the reduction of his place; and it does not follow, that, because Don Francis Naper de Lancaster, who was, perhaps, Don Manuel's lieutenant, or commanded the four ships that brought him succours, was since named governor of Rio de Janeyro,

Janeyro, and honoured with the title of governor of the colony, that, what the historian of Brazil advances on no other foundation, must be true. It is certain, that the duke of Juvenazzo brought the prince regent of Portugal to a more reasonable way of thinking, and made him desist from the pretensions formed in Brazil in regard to the extent of that kingdom; and that this prince contented himself with asking a small settlement for the Portugueze, somewhere in the colony, or its neighbourhood, that, in case they should at any time be obliged to enter the Rio de La Plata, they might there find shelter against pirates and bad weather.

1682. This was granted, on condition that the property of the place should remain vested in the crown of Spain; that no more than fourteen Portugueze families should settle in it; that the houses should be built with wood and covered with straw; that the Portugueze should erect no fort in it; that the governor of Buenos Ayres should have a right to visit it, and all the ships that might come there to trade; that the crown of Portugal should restore three hundred thousand Indians, and the flocks, which the inhabitants of St Paul of Piratiningue had carried off from countries belonging to his Catholick Majesty; lastly, that commissioners should be appointed by the two courts to examine, if the king of Portugal had any right to settle a colony on the banks of the Rio de La Plata, or refer their pretensions to the arbitration of the sovereign Pontiff; and that every thing should be finally adjusted, one way or another, within the space of twelve months.

These preliminaries being settled, a provisional treaty was signed the seventh of May, by which his Catholick Majesty granted the settlement required by Don Pedro, on the conditions I have mentioned; and, some time after, the commissioners of the two crowns held a conference; in which they agreed to abide

abide in the main by the Pope's decision, as the pretensions of the two courts were to be adjusted conformably to the famous line of Demarcation. But it is probable, that no regard was paid to this provisional treaty. It even appears, that the council of his Catholick Majesty did not foresee all the consequences of the apparently trifling concessions made by it, nor sufficiently reflect, that any kind of fixed settlement on the Rio de La Plata could not fail of becoming a perpetual source of contention with an enterprizing neighbour, who carried his claims to so great a height; could receive, when he pleased, succours from the enemies of Spain; and was enabled by the proximity of Brazil to take advantage of every favourable conjuncture to aggrandize and strengthen himself. It will appear in the course of this history, that these conjectures were but too well grounded.

THIS expedition, against the enemies of the state, was succeeded by a series of attempts to propagate the gospel in Chaco, which lasted till the year 1692. But, though the kings of Spain, in order to secure success to them, had issued a decree, by which, as many of the Indians of that country as should listen to the Jesuits, were put upon the same footing with those of the Parana, those fathers found it necessary to renounce the design. Their zeal, however, suffered nothing by doing so, as the Chiquites had already given the strongest indications of their disposition to benefit by it. But, before we proceed any farther, it is proper to make the reader well acquainted with a nation, which is to make a considerable figure in the ensuing part of this history. 1682. 1692.

UNDER the name of Chiquites, it is usual to comprehend several small nations scattered over that tract of land, which is bounded to the north by a chain of mountains, to the south by Chaco, and to the east by the Moxes and the Baures; its bounds to the west are not yet ascertained. It has scarce any breadth at its southern

ſouthern extremity, but grows wider and wider as it ſtretches to the north. Lengthways it extends from the 14th degree of ſouth latitude to the 21ſt. The eaſtern part of it is watered by ſome rivers; and has, beſides, a great number of marſhes and lakes. The weſtern part is traverſed by two rivers, which, after riſing very near each other, ſeparate by running from the ſouth to the north by eaſt. Theſe two rivers are the *Guapay* and the *Pirapiti*. The firſt, after ſetting out with the name of *Rio Grande*, which it does not deſerve, even where wideſt, any more than ſeveral others, upon which the ſame pompous appellation has been very freely beſtowed in this part of South America; receives, in a ſemicircle which it forms round the city of Santa Cruz de La Sierra, the name of *Guapay*. The ſecond, on its leaving Chaco to enter the country of the Chiquites, aſſumes the name of *St. Michael*, and then that of *Sara*, under which, after ſeveral windings, it joins the Guapay, when both, under the laſt of theſe names, flow together to the Mamore. This country is every where covered with mountains and thick foreſts, which abound with bees, thoſe eſpecially called *Opemus*, which I have already mentioned. Accordingly, the chief riches of the inhabitants conſiſt in honey and wax.

The banks of the rivers, rivulets, and lakes, are covered with tortoiſes, and every kind of game. Monkeys, deers, buffaloes, mountain goats, and poultry, are to be met every where in great numbers; but are not, however, ſo numerous as the ſnakes and vipers, which are all more or leſs venemous. There are ſome of them, whoſe venom is ſo active, that, when a man has received it in the extremity of the foot, it immediately aſcends to the head, cauſes a delirium, and then a general weakneſs all over the body, to which death ſoon ſucceeds. Few of the reſt are mortal, their venom evaporating with the blood, which it cauſes to iſſue at all parts of the body, and leaving only

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a small weakness behind it. The lands of this country are almost every-where bad; and would be absolutely uninhabitable, if, from the month of September to that of May, there did not fall such heavy rains, that not only the fields are overflowed, but lakes and large rivulets formed every where, which in a short time abound with fish.

As soon as the waters retire, the inhabitants sow maize, sugar-canes, tobacco, rice, cotton, and several other vegetables of the same kind; but they know nothing of the vine, or of wheat. The heat is great every where; and in some places excessive. Besides, the weather is very inconstant, which causes frequent and heavy disorders. The inhabitants are particularly subject to the apoplexy; and are every year visited by a kind of plague. But, if they die of it, it is not so much through the malignity of the distemper, as the ignorance of their physicians, whose art consists entirely in two remedies for every kind of disorder. The first is sucking the part afflicted: the second putting to death some poor woman or another, the Chiquites having taken it into their heads, that this sex is the cause of all our evils. Such husbands, therefore, as have a mind to get rid of their wives, find it an easy matter to engage the physicians to pronounce sentence upon them, from which there is no appeal, because the Cacique of every town is himself the physician, as well as the executor of his own decrees. He generally begins by living well at the expence of the patient, to whom he allows nothing but a little maize, letting him, if he does not like it, die with hunger; alledging that he has been the cause of his own death.

In his first visit he examines with the greatest attention, if the patient has not spilt some Chica, a kind of very intoxicating beer made with rice, which all the Indians of this continent are very fond of; or if he has not thrown to the hogs any bits

of

of turtle or other animals. In the first case, if the patient owns himself guilty, the physician immediately falls to sucking that part of the body, where the pain is most violent. If this operation proves fruitless, "it is, says the doctor, the spirit presiding over the Chica, who punishes you, and who must be appeased." In the second case, he gives the ground about the patient's bed several violent strokes, in order to drive away the evil spirit.

From the name *Chiquitos*, which the Spaniards have given to these Indians, one would be apt to imagine, that they are of a smaller stature than any of the other inhabitants of this part of the New World; whereas, their stature is, in general, above the common. This name was given them, because the doors of their cabins used to be so low, that they were obliged to crawl upon the ground to get into them. Their reason for constructing them in this manner was to be the better sheltered by them against the arrows of their enemies, and the stings of flies and other insects, with which the air of this country constantly swarms. The Chiquites are very strong and sturdy, of great penetration and judgment, lovers of truth, and pretty free from the vices, to which the rest of the South Americans are addicted; such as impudicity, inconstancy, and laziness. They rather love labour, or are, at least, easily reconciled to it; and in this they have over the Guaranis an advantage, which has saved their first missionaries a great deal of trouble and fatigue. Drunkenness seems to be their ruling passion, as they contract a habit of it from their infancy.

They differ but very little from the Spaniards in their features, so that, if they were not so swarthy, it would be a hard matter to distinguish one from the other. They are permitted to let their hair grow till the age of twenty; and long hair is counted a great beauty among them. They have very little beard, and what they have appears very late. Both men and

women

[W]omen wear a kind of cotton ſhift with ſleeves reaching to the elbows. The young people went quite naked, when the Miſſionaries made their firſt appearance among them; except that in their feſtivals they adorned their heads with feathers of different colours. The Chiquites are nimble, courageous, and very dextrous in handling their arms, which are the ſame with thoſe of the other nations of Paraguay.

THEY had no kind of regular government among them, yet generally conducted themſelves by the advice of their old men; the dignity of Cacique, though it deſcended to the braveſt, having very little authority annexed to it. The Chiquites required little provocation to go to war; the deſire of ſhewing their courage being a ſufficient motive; and they had, accordingly, rendered themſelves formidable to all their neighbours. They generally treated their priſoners very well; conſidered them as their own children; and gave them their daughters in marriage. The Caciques alone were permitted to have two wives; but, then, the reſt could divorce theirs when they pleaſed, and take others inſtead of them. A young man found it a hard taſk to get a wife, till he had given proofs of his bravery, or ſkill in hunting. As to their children, they gave them no kind of education.

THEY generally built their villages in woods; and the cabins, that compoſed them, conſiſted of nothing but ſtraw. Their feſtivals, eſpecially when ſtrangers were to be entertained, laſted two or three days. They began by conjuring the bad ſpirits not to diſturb the joy of them; and accompanied their prayers with great ſhouts, all the time ſtriking the ground with their mancanas. The entertainment conſiſted almoſt entirely in drinking Chica, which ſoon intoxicated them to ſuch a degree, as to make it degenerate into a riot, which few eſcaped without wounds, and generally ended in the death of ſome of the company. The gueſts, notwithſtanding, never failed to

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thank the person who had invited them; and every thing that happened in their liquor was immediately consigned to oblivion.

The Chiquites used to rise very early, and breakfast at day-break. They then amused themselves with playing on a kind of instruments very like our flutes, till the sun had dried up the dew, with which they thought it was dangerous to be wetted; when they repaired to the fields to work. If their fields happened to be overflown, they employed themselves in some other way till noon. The rest of the day they spent in play or in visits. The employment of the women consisted entirely in bringing home wood and water; boiling their rice and their maize; spinning cotton for shirts and shifts, and likewise for hammocks, which the married people alone were permitted to use; the rest being allowed nothing but a mat spread upon a very uneven heap of bits of wood. They generally supped at sun set, and from supper the married men and women went to bed; but the young people spent great part of the night in dancing to the sound of their instruments, the young men at one side, and the young women at the other. When harvest was over, they divided into companies and went a hunting; but were all back again by the month of August, being seed-time. They inclosed their game in order to preserve it.

Scarce any traces of religion were to be found amongst the Chiquites, except that they were greatly afraid of devils, who, they said, appeared to them under hideous forms. They believed the immortality of the soul; and interred with their dead provisions for their souls, and likewise arms, with which they might provide for themselves, when these provisions should be spent. They called the Moon their mother; and, when she happened to be eclipsed, imagined that she was bit by hogs, and covered with blood, because she appears reddish on those occasions. To rescue her therefore from the jaws of these animals,

they

they did nothing but ſhoot their arrows into the air, till ſhe recovered her primitive brightneſs. Thunder and lightning they thought were formed by departed ſouls quarrelling with the ſtars, amongſt whom they had taken up their abode. They looked upon conjurers as enemies to mankind; and, therefore, tore to pieces all thoſe they ſuſpected of being ſo.

They were extremely ſuperſtitious, and continually watching for omens in the crying of beaſts, and the ſcreams of parrots. They even pretended to diſcern in their arms the ſigns of future events. On the leaſt rumour of any not immediate danger, they ſuddenly changed countenance, and fled into the woods; the huſband one way, and the wife another, without taking the leaſt concern about ſuch of their children, as could not follow them. They did not ſo much as ſtay to carry off with them any thing to live upon, ſo that every panick was attended with the death of numbers, who miſerably periſhed through want of ſubſiſtence.

It was owing to theſe extremities, that, though they had conceived a moſt implacable hatred againſt the Spaniards, from a perſuaſion that as many as fell into their hands were very cruelly treated by them, they made no difficulty of ſelling to them their neareſt relations, the huſband his wife, the father his children, the brother his ſiſter; and that for a knife or ſome ſuch trifle. But what is not leſs ſurpriſing, thoſe men, whom ſuperſtition rendered ſo fearful, and whom the leaſt appearance of diſtant evil ſo much diſconcerted, were intrepid, when they had not time to reflect on the danger they were expoſed to; never conſidering any inequality in point of numbers as a ſufficient reaſon for not attacking an enemy.

The Chiquite tongue is very difficult to learn. Beſides, every diſtrict, and ſometimes every village, has its own particular idiom, ſo that it coſt the miſſionaries who firſt laboured to form this church, almoſt infinite pains to learn ſo many different jargons.

This diversity of tongues, and the different names of these Indians, those of every village having their own, were not, however, the only things, to distinguish them from one another. There was besides a pretty considerable difference between them in regard to their customs, manners, and religious rites and belief. Some were fierce and intractable; some gentle and docile; some so superstitious that they had priests consecrated to the service of the devils, whom they imagined they either saw or heard.

THE first conquerors of Peru had some knowledge of the Chiquites, but could never subdue them. Father Joseph de Acosta has spoken of them in his excellent Latin work on the best methods of converting the Indians; as likewise the famous Jurisconsult, Don John de Solorzano in the ninth chapter of his Indian Policy; and Don Alphonso de La Tena, bishop of Quito, in the preface to the second book of his Itinerary. It appears, that Nuflo de Chavez, whom we have often had occasion to mention in the begining of this history, kept up a good understanding with them for some time after he had built the ancient town of Santa Cruz de La Sierra; but I can hardly credit what some people say, that he had found means to engage them to pay a tribute to the crown of Castile. One thing is certain, which is, that, since the translation of Santa Cruz to the spot where it now stands, which was the work of Don Francis de Toledo viceroy of Peru, these Indians have been constantly committing hostilities against the Spaniards, till the year 1690, when Don Augustin Arce de La Concha concluded a peace with them, and rendered it everlasting by procuring their conversion to the Catholick faith. The opportunity of making this peace was so much the more favourable, as the Mamelus had already begun to make inroads into their country, and thus put them between two fires; a circumstance, which Don Augustin had wisdom enough to discern, and make the proper use of.

THIS

This was not, indeed, the first time that Jesus Christ had been preached to the Chiquites; but they had been abandoned I don't know upon what account; so that, at the time I speak of, there did not remain the least traces of Christianity among them. Several of them had been gained over to Jesus Christ a little before the translation of Santa Cruz; but as this translation did not please some of the inhabitants, part of them remained among the Chiquites, and formed a little town at the foot of a mountain which they called St. Francis; others retired among the Moxes; some, in fine, having embarked on the Mamorè, fell down that river to the Maranon or river of Amazons, and from thence passed over into Spain. But the worst consequence of this translation was, that the *Panoquis*, one of the Chiquite nations, of whom several were Christians, and had been given in command to the inhabitants of Old Santa Cruz, taking advantage of it to shake off the Spanish yoke, lost their faith by recovering their liberty, and became furious enemies to the Spaniards.

New Santa Cruz lies in fourteen degrees and twenty minutes, south latitude, at the foot of a chain of mountains, which bounds the country of the Chiquites to the north, and from thence runs in a north east direction to the lake of the Xarayes. This town was at first called *San Lorenzo*, and it still retains that name in some publick instruments. I have not been able to discover, what induced Don Francis de Toledo to remove it. Some have imagined, that it was to put it more out of the reach of the Chiquites; but, as this change of situation put no end to the hostilities between the Spaniards and these Indians, I cannot give in to this conjecture. The New Santa Cruz is the capital of a province, which, for civil matters, depends on the royal audience of Las Charcas; and, as a bishoprick, is suffragan to the archbishoprick of La Plata.

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To return to the project formed by Don Augustin Arce. Having gained over the Chiquites by his courteous way of treating them; he thought he could discern in them a pretty good disposition to embrace Christianity. Therefore, to make it the more agreeable to them, he gave them reason to hope, that they would never have any other missionaries but the Jesuits; and, consequently, need not ever be under any apprehensions of losing their liberty. Such were the steps of providence, for the foundation of the second Christian republick formed by these religious on the model of the first, to which it may be truly affirmed, that at present it yields in nothing but the number of its reductions; and such was the manner in which father de Arce found himself led, by ways unknown to him, into this province, for the accomplishment of God's views upon him.

BUT the minute he came to discern these views, he saw plainly, that nothing less than the all-powerful arm of Him, who had chosen him for so glorious an enterprize, could procure it success. The marquis de La Concha had left Santa Cruz before he arrived there; and the governor, who succeeded that nobleman, seemed to have very little of his zeal for the conversion of the Chiquites. Besides, several of the inhabitants did not relish the undertaking, and left no stone unturned to dissuade the missionary from it. They began by magnifying the difficulties of it; and then, seeing that what they said made no impression upon him, they attempted to persuade him, that, at best, all his labours would be thrown away; and that, though he and his fellow labourers might escape the rage of these Indians, whose barbarity they greatly exaggerated, they could not that of the climate; so that it was but sacrificing, to no manner of purpose, those lives, which might elsewhere be rendered so useful to church and state.

FATHER

FATHER de ARCE had too much experience not to discover the true motives of all their representations. He knew, besides, that a slave company had been formed at Santa Cruz, and that it constantly kept a company of adventurers on foot, to carry off all the Indians they could surprise; whom they sent to be sold in Peru and all the neighbouring provinces, where their prodigious numbers had so much reduced the price of them, that a woman and her child might be had for a sheep and her lamb. He likewise knew, that when they could not find slaves enough in one part of the country, to keep up their detestable commerce, they picked a quarrel with the inhabitants of some other, who dreamed least of offending them; and, under the pretence of an imaginary injury, fell upon them unawares; put to the sword all those who made any resistance; and obliged the rest to redeem their lives at the expence of their liberty.

IT was with great grief and indignation all honest Spaniards thus saw their nation disgraced, and the Christian religion dishonoured, by the avarice of some private men, and the impunity which increased so crying a disorder; the magistrates, it seems, being afraid to employ the severity of the laws to put a stop to these enormities, for fear of occasioning revolts, which might be attended with still worse consequences. It even happened, that, when some time after this the missionaries of the Moxes and the Chiquites had complained of these violences to the Royal Audience of Las Charcas, a rich and powerful man took upon himself the defence of the guilty before that tribunal; and spoke in such a high strain, that it did not think proper to expose its authority, by passing the sentence it intended to do, but referred the affair to the prince of Santo Bueno, viceroy of Peru, who wisely judged that he ought not to lose a single moment, in exerting all his authority to suppress so great a scandal. Accordingly, he published an edict forbidding all per-

ſons whatſoever, under pain of death, to buy or ſell any Indians carried off by force; and all magiſtrates under pain of being depoſed, to tolerate ſo baſe a traffick.

But this remedy came ſo late, that the firſt miſſionaries of the Chiquites received no benefit from it. This, however, could not abate father de Arcé's courage, which increaſed in proportion to the obſtacles it met with. He firſt began by making uſe of remonſtrances, prayers, and ſupplications, to move the hearts of thoſe, from whom he had moſt reaſon to expect any oppoſition; and he, at length, thought he had ſucceeded; but he did not, it ſeems, know who he had to deal with. They did not think proper to renounce all pretenſions to the name of Chriſtians, by bareſacedly contradicting a miniſter of the Lord of ſo great reputation; they even feigned to approve his views, and gave him fine promiſes without any intention to keep them; or elſe in hopes, that in ſo unwholeſome a climate, he would ſoon ſink under the exceſſive fatigues to which they knew he was ready to expoſe himſelf; or at leaſt grow weary of labours, which they flattered themſelves with being able to render both fruitleſs and diſagreeable. But the event ſhewed, that they were as much miſtaken in him, as he in them.

The Apoſtolic man, having nothing now to detain him at Santa Cruz, but the difficulty of obtaining guides, had, at laſt, the good fortune to meet with two, who conducted him to the firſt habitations of the Chiquites called *Pinocas*, where he arrived, after a very fatiguing journey of three weeks, the latter end of the year 1692. He could ſcarce crawl when he entered the firſt town, though he had the greateſt occaſion to exert himſelf, for the plague raged there to ſuch a degree, that he ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded with ſick and dying perſons expoſed to all the injuries of the weather, and in want of every neceſſary of

of life. He was greatly consoled, however, by the happiness of baptizing several of the latter, and by the surprizing affliction of those he found alive, at his not arriving time enough to confer the same grace on those, whom the disorder had already carried off. These sentiments were, in a great measure, owing to the arguments, which the virtuous Marquis de La Concha, after granting them peace, had made use of to engage them to receive missionaries.

As soon as a few of them had recovered suffi- 1693.
cient strength to go abroad, they set about a church with such alacrity, that in ten days, the father, who dedicated it to the Apostle of the Indians, could celebrate mass in it. The sequel was answerable to such promising beginnings; the earnestness, with which they all desired instruction and baptism, being so great, that he had scarce a moment left to himself. The church never emptied from morning till night; and part of the night was spent in repeating what had been said twenty times, the preceding day, to people who understood but half of what they heard, and immediately forgot that half; but whose sincere desire to learn made so painful an exercise very agreeable. The servant of God would have been very glad not to defer any longer the baptism of the Catechumens, had not a long experience of the levity of the Indians made the Jesuits take a resolution not to administer that sacrament to grown up persons, till after a long and severe trial. Father de Arcé, therefore, contented himself with baptizing the sick, when in danger of dying; and the children not yet come to the years of reason.

In the mean time, the Panoquis, whose ancestors had been Christians, and who were settled nearer to the ancient city of Santa Cruz, sent to beseech the servant of God to come and visit them; or, if he could not grant them that favour, to permit them to wait upon him; and, he having returned for answer, that

that they might all come, and that he would receive them all as his children, a considerable number of them immediately set out; and, on their arrival, desired to be admitted as Catechumens. This accession, by rendering the church too small, obliged him to repeat his instructions so often, that he at last fell into a languor, which soon terminated in a burning fever, of which, however, he fell on a sudden, and, as it were, miraculously recovered.

This made father de Arcé, resolve to spare himself less than ever; but he had not time to put his design in execution, when he received an order from his Provincial, to come immediately to him at Tarija: Though he was persuaded, that his Provincial did not know how the affairs of this mission were circumstanced, when he sent him this order, he brought the Chiquites to consent to his leaving them, by the strongest assurances, that he would never abandon them; and then, after advising them to remove nearer to the river St. Michael, where the air was wholesomer, and they would, besides, be more secure against the attacks of their enemies, he set out amidst the tears and sobs of his dear children.

1694. In the mean time, the Mamelus, when least expected, had made their appearance on the frontiers of the Chiquites, and first directed their march towards the Panoquis, who were, however, apprized of their approach time enough to concert measures to repulse them. Accordingly, they laid an ambuscade for the Mamelus; and, by that means, after killing a great number of these banditti, obliged the rest to retreat, as they themselves fought all the time under cover. The year following, another body of these miscreants fell suddenly upon the *Taüs*, another nation of the Chiquites, and carried off a great many of them; and then turned short upon the Panoquis, who, though they had notice of their approach, could not be made to believe

it. However, they kept up a good countenance on the enemy's appearing before them; but then, they did not take notice, that, while a part of the Mamelus attacked them in front, another had marched round them to carry off their women and children; whom these banditti immediately sent off, so much to the confusion of the men, that on hearing it, they dispersed. The Mamelus, however, did not pursue them, imagining, that rather than be separated from those they held dearest, they would soon come and deliver themselves up, as it accordingly happened. The Mamelus treated all the prisoners they made on this occasion very well; made them presents; conferred marks of distinction on the principal men among them; and promised them all an establishment in Brazil, where they should want for nothing; but this they did merely to engage them to act the part of Guides in a design, they had formed to surprize the reduction of St. Francis Xavier; which, by father de Arcé's advice, had been removed to the other side of the river St. Michael.

Father de Arce, having received an account of these transactions in his way to Tarija, immediately fled back to the relief of his dear Panoquis, without considering, that he exposed himself to the almost inevitable danger of falling himself into the hands of the Mamelus. In his way, he traversed several cantons of the Chiquites; and was every where received like the tutelary angel of the nation. Being joined by several Panoquis, who had made their escape from the Mamelus, he led them into a plain, where he proposed to found a second reduction on the banks of the little river *Jacopo*. For, as this place is surrounded with woods, he was in hopes the Chiquites might be less exposed in it to the courses of the Mamelus; and, therefore, flattered himself with being able to collect there a greater number than he could any where else; and so it accordingly happened.

This

This new colony he put under the protection of the angel Raphael; and, after making some stay in it, during which he baptized several infants, he left the inhabitants in the best dispositions he could wish for.

He then continued his journey; and, having made himself perfectly acquainted with the direction taken by the Mamelus, went and put the Indians of St. Francis Xavier upon their guard against them. From thence he posted for succours to Santa Cruz, where he obtained one hundred and thirty soldiers, commanded by a very brave officer, who first led them to St. Francis Xavier; and from thence, after being joined by three hundred Chiquites, and evacuating that reduction, whose situation was not judged safe enough, took post on the banks of the river St. Michael. Having then sent out scouts to get intelligence of the enemy, he the day after received advice, that they had been to fall upon the reduction which had been evacuated. The same day he received a letter from the commander of the Mamelus, addressed to the Pastor of this town, and conceived in the following terms.

"Reverend Father,

"I am arrived here with two companies of brave "soldiers of my nation; we do not intend to give "you the least molestation; we are come to look for "some of our people who have taken refuge in this "country. Your reverence may return to your re-"duction, and bring back your Neophytes with you; "you need not fear the least danger there. I pray "God to preserve you.

Anthony Firraez."

The Father had no sooner read this letter, than the little army set out in quest of the enemy; but it was too late. The Mamelus had retreated, as from the tracks of the horses they concluded some Spaniards had taken the field. However, in hopes of carrying off the

the black cattle of the reduction of St. Francis Xavier, which some Indians had told them they had met with, they resolved to draw near it again. Upon this, the Spanish commander, being informed of their intentions, pursued them so closely, that he arrived in sight of their camp at three o'clock in the after-noon of the ninth of August. As he had made a forced march, he thought proper to give his men time to rest the remainder of the day; especially as he was desirous they should prepare to communicate the day following, being the feast of St. Lawrence patron of Santa Cruz. Accordingly, father de Arcé and the two missionaries, who had replaced him at St. Francis Xavier, and who attended their Neophytes in this expedition, confessed the whole army; and, next morning very early, after saying mass, administered the communion to them. This done, the army set out at day-break.

It had been first resolved to summon the Mamelus to lay down their arms; and, in case of refusal, fall upon them on the firing of two muskets. But a Spaniard, too impatient to wait the signal, being killed by an Indian of the enemy, his death was revenged by that of two Mamelus; and this brought on a general engagement, in which both parties fought with the greatest fury. Anthony Firraez, and Manuel Frias, who commanded the two companies, were among the first who fell; and their soldiers were so dismayed at it, that they threw themselves precipitately into the river in order to escape by swimming to the opposite bank. But the Spaniards and Chiquites, by making a brisk fire upon them in the passage, killed every man except six, three of whom being wounded, were made prisoners. The Spaniards lost but six men on this occasion. It is not said how many the Mamelus lost.

It was then proposed to march to the deliverance of the Panoquis, who had been made prisoners, to the

amount

amount of fifteen hundred souls. But this project was frustrated by a misunderstanding among the officers; and the Spaniards returned to Santa Cruz with some prisoners, whom the governor Don Lewis Anthony Calvo sent to the royal audience of La Plata, whilst the three Mamelus, who had saved themselves by swimming, not knowing that the Spaniards had withdrawn themselves, ran in all haste to give notice of their defeat to those left to guard the Panoquis, that they must soon expect to have the enemy on their hands; which struck such a panic into them, that the whole detachment took to their heels, and left most of their prisoners behind them.

1694.
1695.
These runaways, having reached the Paraguay by forced marches, embarked on that river; and, as they were rowing as hard as they could to gain some other, which might bring them nearer to Brazil, they fell in with another party of Mamelus, who had left their country on the same errand; and had no difficulty in engaging it to join them, in order to take vengeance of their defeat. Accordingly, having soon after met with some Chiquites, they attacked them; but so many of them were killed by these brave Indians, that the rest thought proper to disperse. Upon this the *Guarayos*, who had followed the Mamelus, seeing how little they had to expect from such an alliance, surrendered to the Chiquites; and, after their example, embraced our holy religion. It is even probable, that the conquerors brought back such of the Panoquis, as had been obliged to follow the Mamelus in their flight.

1695.
1699.
In the mean time, as the fear of these banditti had made the missionaries remove the reduction of St. Francis Xavier, nearer to Santa Cruz, the fear of the Spaniards obliged them to remove it again, eighteen leagues further to the north; as not only the licentious lives of the Spaniards in general proved a great scandal to the

Neo-

Neophytes, but many of the inhabitants of that place were not ashamed to carry off the Neophytes whom they found at work in their fields, and even abuse their pastors, on their attempting to oppose so shocking a violence. Accordingly, the number of the inhabitants of this reduction diminished from day to day. Several of them took refuge in the mountains, where they miserably perished.

Towards the close of the year 1696, the fathers Hervas and de Zea put the last hand to the reduction of Saint Raphael. But the plague having made great havock in it for two years successively, they thought proper to remove it more to the east, and placed it on the banks of the little river Guapis, which it was then imagined fell into the Paraguay, but has been since found neither to fall into it, nor to be navigable. A third was soon after founded under the name of St. Joseph, at the expence of the marquis del Vallé Toxo.

The reduction of St. Joseph was composed of the Chiquites of three different districts, distinguished by the names of *Boxos*, *Teotas*, and *Penotas*, which were afterwards increased by some families of the Panoquis and Ximaros. Father de Zea, and father Fernandez, author of the history of this new Christian Republick, soon founded a fourth under the name of saint *John Baptist*; but, the first having been named superior of the Guarani reductions, father Fernandez could not, for the first three years, undertake any of those spiritual excursions, by means of which all these reductions had been peopled. To increase his misfortune, the plague soon carried off the best part of those whom he had already collected, so as to oblige him to remove his town twenty five leagues more to the east of St. Joseph. Other Jesuits were labouring at the same time to form another reduction, and with such success, that there was the greatest reason to hope, that in a few years all the country from the north of Tu-

cuman

cuman to Paraguay, would be peopled with excellent Chriſtians; for not only they had already entirely renounced the uſe of all intoxicating liquors; but, though compoſed of ſeveral nations formerly at enmity with each other, lived together in the greateſt union and harmony. Nay, not content with exerciſing among themſelves all the acts of the moſt heroic charity, though but juſt regenerated in Jeſus Chriſt, they carried the apoſtolical ſpirit to ſuch a height, that they faced death to gain him adorers; and took no pains to defend themſelves, when thoſe, whom they ſought to make partakers of their happineſs, anſwered their kind invitation by ſhowers of arrows; thoſe who ſurvived envying the fate of their brethren, who had ſhed their blood in ſo glorious a cauſe.

One of the greateſt advantages expected from the eſtabliſhment of the Chiquite reductions, was a ſhorter and eaſier communication between Tucuman and Paraguay; it having been hitherto found impoſſible to paſs from one of theſe provinces to the other, otherwiſe than by deſcending the river as far as Santa-fé, and then traverſing vaſt plains, which ſeparate that town and Buenos Ayres from Corduba. One would be apt to imagine, on looking on the map, that this communication might have been eaſily effected by means of the Pilco Mayo. But it is to be conſidered, that the way to this river lies through a large country, inhabited by barbarous nations, ſworn enemies of the Spaniards, though as yet but little known by them. Beſides, the Pilco Mayo has not always water enough for the lighteſt veſſels.

As to the countries to the north of the Chiquites, not only they were then looked upon as impaſſable; but nothing could be got by attempting a paſſage that way, as well on account of the many and long windings it would be requiſite to make to avoid the barbarous nations that inhabit it; as becauſe, from the lati-

latitude of twenty-one degrees up to the lake of the Xarayes, almost all the banks of the river on that side are low marshy ground, for a considerable way into Chaco. Moreover, the navigation of the river at this height is very dangerous, as it is every where infested with Payaguas, who fall upon travellers when they think least of them. Besides, it would be only pointing out a road to the Mamelus, whereby they might pour in upon the Chiquites, with irresistible forces.

THE pastors, therefore, of this new Christian republic, after taking an exact survey of all the country, the better to know where to form reductions in it, in proportion as the Christians should multiply, made an attempt to penetrate as far as Paraguay, but every where met with armed Indians, who obliged them to return back. Some time after, one of these very Indians, who happened to be a Catechumen in one of the Chiquite reductions, paid his countrymen a visit, in order to engage them to follow his example; and, on his making a favourable report of his expedition, Father Michael de Yegros, and Father Francis Hervas, set out with him and fourteen Neophytes, and were pretty well received in three towns. This engaged them to push on, till, believing themselves arrived at last on the banks of the Paraguay, they erected a cross there, which could be seen at a great distance; but they mistook, it seems, for that river a lake lying at a considerable distance from it; so that all the benefit they reaped from their journey was, that some Indians, who had resolved to fall upon them at their return, being apprized by others of the uprightness of their intentions, went to meet them; expressed the greatest respect and affection for them; and accompanied them to Saint Raphael, where they all remained.

1700.

1703. Father Hervas, however, thoroughly persuaded that he had penetrated as far as the Paraguay, waited on Father Nunez, his provincial; and received orders from him to join Father Zea; and with him and some other of the Parana missionaries and a lay brother, pursue the western coast of the Paraguay, till they discovered the cross, which Father de Zea had erected. Accordingly, they all embarked at the Assumption the 27th of June, 1703; and were exposed to a great many dangers from the Payaguas, who killed under their eyes one of the Indians who accompanied them, whilst making them a present, in the name of the fathers, in order to obtain a free passage.

At length, on the twenty-first of August, they were greatly surprised at seeing, on the right-hand shore, a very tall cross, near a kind of pallisadoed fort; and still more to hear, that it had been planted by the Payaguas, who, having heard some Christians speak of the great virtue of this standard of Christianity, hoped by means of it to be delivered from the tygers, with which their country was greatly infested. The last day of October they entered the lake of the Xarayes; and after three weeks spent in ranging the western banks of it, without finding what they came to look for, turned back to the Assumption, where they arrived the 6th of January, 1704.

1704. Notwithstanding the ill success of this second enterprize, the provincial ordered one of the Chiquite missionaries to get himself conducted by good guides to the place where the cross in question had been planted, and from thence fall down the Paraguay, on whose banks he still imagined it stood, to the Assumption. But after three days march he received certain intelligence, that the body of water, which had been taken for the Paraguay, was only a great lake terminated by a forest of palm-trees. However, he marched eighty leagues

leagues more in queſt of ſome river falling into the Paraguay, without being able to find any; and, after this, on report of ſome Indians, he undertook an eight days march through a country ſo thick wooded, and ſo liable to be overflowed, that he was at laſt obliged to give up the enterprize, after wading many leagues, up to his waiſt in mud, in queſt of the river itſelf. He was conſoled, however, for this diſappointment by meeting with ſeventy Guarayos of every age and both ſexes, whom his guides engaged to follow him to the reduction of Saint John Baptiſt, where they all became Chriſtians.

While Spain and religion were thus acquiring new dominions in this northern extremity 1700. of Paraguay, Philip of France, Duke of 1705. Anjou, aſcended the throne of the catholic Kings, under the name of Philip V. But this Prince, having ſoon reaſon to fear that the mines of Potoſi might draw the maritime powers allied with the Houſe of Auſtria, into this part of America, thought proper to loſe no time in cauſing the port of Buenos Ayres to be fortified. Accordingly, the very firſt year of his acceſſion to the Spaniſh throne, he ſent poſitive orders to the governor of Rio de la Plata, to exert himſelf to put that place in the beſt poſture of defence; and, by the ſame ſhip, wrote to the provincial of the Jeſuits to pray and enjoin him to ſend, every four months, three hundred reduction Indians, at leaſt, to the ſame Governor, to be employed in every thing he might judge to be for his ſervice; adding, that, by executing this order with all the diſpatch it required, he would renew the proofs of zeal and loyalty, which his Company had given, on ſo many other occaſions, to the Kings, his predeceſſors.

By a ſecond letter, of the 5th of March, His Majeſty informed him, of his having diſcovered, that

his enemies, in order to get these provinces into their power, were shortly to send thither some Spanish friars, to assure the inhabitants, that the House of Austria was firmly resolved to maintain them in the Catholick religion, if they would declare in her favour; that there were already two Trinitarians in London, one a Spaniard, and the other a German, in order to take shipping there for Buenos Ayres; and, if possible, slip into the country disguised as they were; then resume the habit of their Order; secretly distribute manifestoes; support them in public and in private by their discourse; and attempt the loyalty, not only of the natural born subjects of his crown, but even of the Indians, to whom they would not fail to give themselves out as apostolical missionaries, though they had no right to that title; in fine, that they were to be followed by two laymen, one of whom was secretary to the Count de Harrach, heretofore the Emperor's ambassador at the court of Spain.

He then ordered him, in case he should hear of any foreign or Spanish friars, or any other suspicious persons, of whatsoever state and condition, having entered these provinces *, to ship them immediately for Spain; to require, in his name, the superiors of all the other orders to do the same; and implore to this end, and for the execution of what the laws prescribe in such cases, the assistance of those invested with the royal authority. His Majesty, likewise, ordered him to make strict search after those, who might have crept into these kingdoms without passports signed by himself; and send all such as might arrive without them at Buenos Ayres, with all their papers, under a strong guard, to the royal chamber of Seville; to cause the superiors of the regular clergy to give him an account of

* It appears that by *these provinces* Philip V. means the reductions.

of such of their friars, as might arrive in these provinces; to examine narrowly all the laymen coming or going without the necessary permissions; to proceed against them, according to the laws, without making any difference between Spaniards and strangers; to see that they were punished according to the nature of their guilt, or sent to Spain with all the pieces relating to the prosecution carried on against them.

The King of Spain, it is probable, at the time he gave these orders, did not imagine he had any thing to fear on the side of Portugal, whose sovereign had acknowledged him as lawful successor to Charles II. The works, however, undertaken at Buenos Ayres were as requisite to guard against the attempts of that court, as against those of the maritime powers, who had declared for the Archduke. France herself, in consequence of her preparations to attack Carthagena, was thought to have meditated a descent at Buenos Ayres; for which reason, Don Augustin Roblez, then governor of Rio de la Plata for the second time, sent for two thousand Indians of the reductions situated within his government, who immediately obeyed his orders, and remained encamped for six months, with their missionaries, in the neighbourhood of that capital. When the governor was about to dismiss them, thinking it his duty to make them some return for their services, especially as they had, according to custom, brought all their provisions along with them, and had not cost the King a farthing, he calculated what might be due to them at the rate of a real a day, being the usual pay of the Indians when called into the field; and finding, that for the time they had been absent from, and it would take them to return, home, it amounted to ninety thousand pieces of eight, he offered to pay them that sum; but they refused to accept any consideration; telling him, that this

 money

money would be much better employed in filling the royal magazines, which, at this time, greatly wanted a fresh supply.

But, whilst Don Augustin took so many
1703. precautions against a distant enemy, and who,
1705. besides, had, it has since appeared, no thoughts of attacking Paraguay, he had one in his neighbourhood, against whom he was not sufficiently upon his guard. The Portuguese of Brazil had no sooner heard of the death of the King of Spain, and that his grand nephew had succeeded him, than they concluded, from his title being disputed by several of the greatest powers in Europe, that he would not choose to embroil himself with the King of Portugal who had acknowledged him, by opposing the re-establishment of the colony of the Holy Sacrament. They thought proper, however, not to proceed openly to hostilities, till they took every step in their power to prevent the governor of Rio de la Plata's drawing any timely assistance from the reductions.

For this purpose, they concluded an alliance with some idolatrous Indians, who had settled between the reductions and the spot upon which the colony of the Holy Sacrament had been established; supplied them abundantly with fire arms, and every other thing they wanted. But these barbarians, enemies as they were to the Christians, and certain of being supported by the Portuguese, were for some time without daring to attack the Neophytes, whom they knew the Mamelus had no longer courage enough to face. At last, however, solicited by their new allies, they made an eruption into the town of the Kings; surprized and pillaged it; profaned the church and all the sacred vessels and ornaments; carried off all the black cattle and horses. The inhabitants themselves had much ado to save their lives and liberties by a precipitate flight.

After

After taking refuge in the nearest reductions, they complained of this hostility to the governor of the province, and required his assistance. Then, though he sent them but a very inconsiderable force, they formed a body of two thousand men, and went in quest of the enemy, whom they soon found out. The battle was long and bloody; and, though the Christians suffered not a little in the beginning, the Infidels were at last obliged to give way, and save themselves by flight. However, they recovered themselves well enough to send to the Portuguese for assistance; and, on receiving it, marched back to the Christians, who waited their coming, and attacked them with great bravery and order, but were received in like manner; so that it was not till after five days constant fighting, that victory declared for the Neophytes; but it was so compleat, that all the Portuguese, and their Indians, were killed or taken prisoners.

The Portuguese, in the mean time, had
repeopled the colony of the Blessed Sacra- 1705.
ment, without the Spaniards knowing any
thing of the matter; and, having fortified it in such a manner, as to apprehend little or nothing from the Spaniards, began to keep no longer any measures with them. But Don Alphonso John de Valde Inclen, who had just succeeded Don Augustin de Roblez, in the government of Rio de la Plata, soon received orders from the viceroy of Peru, to collect all his troops, and those the governor of Tucuman should send him; and, cost what it would, drive the Portuguese out of their new settlement; nor did he lose any time in putting himself in a condition to comply with these orders.

His first step was to write, by express, to the superiors of the Parana and Uruguay reductions, to let him have, with all possible dispatch, four thousand of their Neophytes; and forward, by another express, a

letter from the King to the provincial, then at Tucuman, in which his Majesty required him to contribute as much as possible to the speedy execution of the orders he had sent to the governor of Rio de la Plata. Father Nunez, who, at that time, filled that station, no sooner received his Majesty's letter, than he set out for the reductions, where he found every thing requisite for the speedy march of the Neophytes in such forwardness, that they were all ready to set out by the eighth of September, in three columns, under the command of four camp-masters, all Caciques, with four missionaries, and four lay brother surgeons. Two of these columns embarked on the Uruguay; the third, which had but one hundred and fifty leagues to make, took its route by land.

The column, which set out by land, was the first that reached the Spanish camp, where they arrived the 14th of October. This camp lay within sight of the place that was to be attacked, and was composed of regular troops and new raised militia. My memoirs say nothing of their number. The two other columns arrived the 4th of November, with six thousand pack-horses and mules, after suffering greatly during their voyage, as at this time of the year no forage or refreshments were to be found on the way; they might have perished, even after their arrival, had not the Neophytes sallied out in quest of the wild oxen, of which they soon killed so great a number, that they had enough to share with the Spaniards.

The serjeant major, Don Balthazar Garcia Ros, who was entrusted with the care of this siege, declares in a printed memorial, addressed to the King, to the royal council of the Indies, to the viceroy of Peru, to the tribunals of Spanish America, and to the officers of the army, that the Indians of the Parana and Uruguay reductions had taken upon them all the works, even that of removing, by force

of

of arms, the cannon for the batteries; that they headed every attack; and sustained, with the greatest intrepidity, all the fire of the besieged. Accordingly, the Portuguese were so alarmed at it, that, on seeing them march up to the assault, they threw themselves into four ships, just arrived with succours, which were either insufficient to make such brave fellows raise the siege, or had not time to land. This advantage cost the Spaniards very few men; the Neophytes lost fifty, besides two hundred wounded.

The 17th of March they had leave to set out for the reductions, after refusing the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand pieces of eight, which the governor offered them; and which was no more, than what their pay amounted to at a real and a half a man, for every day of their absence from home. This is all I have been able to find, concerning this expedition, in the Spanish memoirs. But the late Monsieur L'abbé du Bos, perpetual secretary to the French academy, and so well known by his works, has favoured me with some circumstances of it, which he assured me he had from an eye-witness, the captain of a French ship, then lying in the port of Buenos Ayres; and such as my readers, perhaps, will be glad to be made acquainted with. He did not, 'tis true, give me any dates; but what he said can scarce be referred to any but the second siege of the colony of the Blessed Sacrament. This French captain entered the port of Buenos Ayres, at the time the Spaniards were making preparations for the siege of the colony; and, hearing the governor say, that what perplexed him most was the want of an engineer to conduct the works, he offered him his service in that capacity, which was readily accepted. Having then called for a plan of the place, and a list of the troops that were to form the siege of it, he was very much surprised to find, that the governor seemed greatly to depend on the Indians from the missions

of

of the Jesuits, who were now daily expected. "What can you do, Sir, said he, with these people?" "Suspend your judgment of them, answered the "governor, till you have seen them. In the "mean time, I promise you, that the place will "not hold out long against them."

Some days after, the governor, being informed that the first column of these Indians began to make their appearance, took horse to meet them, and invited his engineer to accompany him. They soon came in sight of the Neophytes, who were passing a defile two by two; and formed on the plain, as fast as enough had cleared it to make a battalion. They were all completely armed, and followed, besides, by some pieces of artillery. The order, silence, and easy manner, in which they performed every part of the military exercise, with their bold and intrepid air, greatly surprised the French captain. Being desirous to speak to those who composed the first line, he addressed them in Spanish; but they made no other answer than by these words, *los Padres*, pointing to the Jesuits who followed them. Upon this, he rode up to one of these fathers, who told him that these Indians understood no language but their own; that, when any orders were to be given them, they were ready to act the part of interpreters; and that he might depend on all his orders being punctually obeyed.

Upon this assurance, he assigned them the post that was most exposed to the fire of the besieged, which they soon began to answer with great unconcern. Nay, after a few discharges, they asked leave to give the assault; and, on being told that the breach was not as yet wide enough, they answered that was their business, and that they made no doubt of forcing it. Upon this, they were left at liberty to do as they pleased; and, the moment they began to put themselves in motion, sustained with so much intrepidity a

discharge

discharge of the besiegers artillery; and then, as soon as they got within reach of them, another of their small arms, not a single man quiting his rank, that the disconcerted Portuguese thought proper not to wait their nearer approach; but, throwing down their arms, fled with the utmost precipitation. The captain added, that he was equally surprised at the behaviour of the missionaries, who, with nothing in their hands but their breviaries, as fast as they saw their Neophytes fall, ran up to their assistance; and performed their duty, in the midst of the hottest fire, with as much calmness as if they had been safe in their churches.

THE success of this siege greatly increased the reputation of this Indian militia; and the serjeant major's certificate confirmed his catholic majesty in the opinion he had conceived, that these Indians were, of all the troops in his American dominions, those he could most depend upon. His Majesty rewarded the services of the serjeant major on this occasion, with the government of Paraguay; enjoining him, at the same time, to enter on his charge by visiting the reductions of his Province. Don Balthazar obeyed, and sent a judicial account of his visitation to his majesty, with a letter, in which he assured him, that he had found all these reductions in a condition which could scarce appear credible to persons, who had not seen it with their own eyes; that it was impossible to add any thing to the police and good order established in them; or give a just idea of the innocence and piety of these new Christians, their union among themselves, and their respect and affection for their pastors; that there was not a man amongst them, that was not ready to sacrifice, with joy, his life and all he was master of in the world, for the service of God and his Majesty.

As

As much, if not more, might already be
1705. ſaid of the newly reclaimed and converted
1721. Chiquites, who, to the great happineſs of the province, received, in the exertion of their piety and loyalty, no ſmall countenance and aſſiſtance from Don Eſtevan de Urizar, governor of Tucuman; a man poſſeſſed of all the great talents of an accompliſhed general and magiſtrate, and all the virtues of a perfect Chriſtian. Almoſt all the men, that could be ſpared from the neceſſary labours of this new republic, formed themſelves into parties, which, often without any miſſionary to animate them by his preſence, ſcoured the country; or penetrated, at the hazard of their lives, which many of them, with their miſſionaries, accordingly loſt, into the remoteſt countries; into countries inhabited by nations moſt averſe to the Spaniſh name, and to the Chriſtian religion, in order to bring them to a better way of thinking; whilſt the women and children at home aſſiduouſly aſſiſted their paſtors in inſtructing the proſelytes made in theſe expeditions, to the great diſgrace as well as diſappointment of ſeveral private perſons amongſt the Portugueſe, and even the Spaniards, who, conſidering the Indians as their property, made no ſcruple to employ both force and fraud to get poſſeſſion of them, in ſpite of all Don Eſtevan could do to prevent it. For he was ſo far from winking at theſe wicked proceedings, that, even when ſeveral of the barbarous nations of Chaco had broken into the territories under his command, and filled them with confuſion and blood, he could not be brought to make war againſt them, as he knew he could pay few or none of his troops, but by giving them the captive Indians in command, till he had not only obtained the expreſs leave of his ſuperiors, but even the opinion of the ableſt divines of the new world, as to the lawfulneſs of it in the ſight of God. In this war he was conſiderably re-en-

forced

forced by the Chiquites; and with their assistance, soon put an end to it, by the slaughter of some, and the capture of a great number of the hostile Indians, whom, to correct, as much as in him lay, the evil he could not avoid, he distributed to such as he had reason to expect would use them well; gratifying the rest of the captors some other way, even at the expence of his own private fortune.

In the course of these religious and military expeditions, several Indian nations, many of whom the Spaniards as yet knew nothing of, even by name, were happily brought under the yoke of Christ, and the dominion of the Crown of Spain. All those who submitted voluntarily, were not only accepted as free vassals, like the Guaranies, to their Catholic Majesties; but the Caciques of many were gratified with Spanish military titles. These were the Manacicas, Malbalas, Great Lulles, Little Lulles, Chunipis, Ojatas, Moratocos, Quies, Zamucos, Maciturocas, and some others whose names are not mentioned; nay, and a great number of the Chiriguanes themselves. Of these barbarous nations some were incorporated with the Chiquites: and some, particularly the Lulles and Chiriguanes, formed into separate reductions; though not without excessive fatigue of mind and body to their pastors, and the death of some of them. The greatest difficulty consisted in reconciling, and keeping at peace, nations between whom there had prevailed an hereditary enmity; and in, contending against the bad example of the Spanish soldiers sent to defend them, till they were civilized enough to be entrusted with fire arms, and even to labour the ground for some, who seemed to interpret Don Estevan's goodness, in providing every thing for them during the first year after their submission, and then prolonging that term, when they had let it pass unemployed, into a tacit confession of his being obliged always to do so.

All these nations, however, were not equally indolent and barbarous. Three of them are said to have been extremely peaceable, scarce daring to defend themselves when attacked; and, therefore, entirely addicted to husbandry. Another was so far civilized as to have tolerable houses, well laid ou towns, public buildings, and a regular magistracy, with this very remarkable particularity, that the women amongst them, like those amongst the ancient Egyptians, transacted most of the out-door business. Another nation was discovered, though not reclaimed, on this occasion, still farther advanced in the practices of civil life, if we must allow all those of the ancient Romans to have been such. They burned their dead, collected their ashes, and performed courses on horseback round the funeral pile. Their reasons for using these ceremonies must have been very curious; but we are not informed of them: the Spaniards, from what motive it does not appear, dispersed them too soon for the Jesuits to make any inquiry into the matter.

The difficulties we have been mentioning were attended with some reflections, which there is great reason to hope will be attended with happy consequences. As yet, the Jesuits, when they could not spare pastors to the barbarous nations they happened to fall in with, used to leave them, without reaping any other fruit from their ministry than that of baptizing the dying infants. But now they began to consider, that by prevailing on them to give up some of their children to be educated in the Spanish manner, they, besides winning the affection of the parents, secured to themselves hostages, mediators, and interpreters, with the whole nation. Another reflection was, that the slow peopling of their reductions, notwithstanding the great tendency of the life led by the inhabitants to make them multiply, and the vast accession of strangers, might be

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owing to the ſcarcity of ſalt, which they, heretofore, were obliged to purchaſe at a great price, and fetch, at a heavy expence, from a great diſtance. Parties, therefore, were ſent to look out for ſalt mines or waters, in thoſe places, where there was the greateſt likelihood of there being any; the conſequence of which was, that one of them happily diſcovered a ſalt pond, the ſalt of which, though ſurrounded by hoſtile Indians, might be obtained at an expence ſuitable to their circumſtances, and in quantities ſufficient to anſwer all their demands.

During theſe tranſactions, ſome further attempts were made to diſcover direct, or, at leaſt, leſs round about, communications between the provinces of Tucuman and Paraguay, than thoſe hitherto known; but they all proved fruitleſs. A ſtream was, indeed, diſcovered, reaching from the Paraguay to the Pilco Mayo: But both it and the Pilco Mayo were found, on a further ſurvey, not to be always navigable for boats, eſpecially the former. This barren diſcovery, however, coſt the lives of two or three Jeſuits, and ſome of their Neophytes, whom the governors of theſe provinces always ſingled out for thoſe attempts in which great ſkill and zeal were requiſite.

But, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, the provinces of Tucuman, Paraguay, and Buenos Ayres might now be ſaid to be in a very flouriſhing condition; and would, in all probability, have long continued ſo, had not Heaven called to his reward the virtuous and wiſe Don Eſtevan de Urizar. For, this great and good man dying in the month of May, 1724, the royal audience gave him a ſucceſſor, till the king's pleaſure ſhould be known, who behaved ſo ill, that, to prevent the province from relapſing into all the diſorders from which Don Eſtevan had delivered it, they thought proper, though a little too late, to put another in his place. Some time after this, Don Anthony de Alfaro received the king's commiſſions as governor

governor and captain general of Tucuman; and his Majesty's choice was universally approved. But the joy felt by the inhabitants on this occasion was very short lived. Don Anthony died almost as soon as he had taken possession of his government; and the news of his death scarce reached the extremities of Chaco, when the whole frontier was overrun by parties of barbarous and hostile Indians; a thing, which seldom or never happened in Don Estevan de Urizar's time, as he always kept bodies of his militia in the field; and changed them from time to time with so much discretion, as not to leave the inhabitants of his province any reason to complain of the hardships of a duty, from which they reaped such signal advantages.

These hostile Indians, most of whom were Chiriguanes, did not, however, think proper to attack the Chiquites, who, on their side, contented themselves with letting them know, that they must not pretend to do it with impunity. But they were not long permitted to abide by this pacific system. Father d'Aguilar soon received orders from the superior tribunals, to engage them to send a thousand men to re-enforce the Spanish militia lately raised, in order to chastise the Chiriguanes. He, therefore, immediately assembled their chiefs; and, after representing to them how much it concerned their honour to give his Catholic Majesty proofs of their zeal for his service in the present critical situation, he added, that they could the less refuse their assistance, as it was wanted chiefly to avenge the majesty of God, whose temples and altars the Chiriguanes had burned and destroyed. This discourse had the desired effect. The Chiquites immediately offered themselves, with the best grace in the world, to do every thing he should require of them; and, accordingly, every reduction insisted on having a share in raising the thousand men required of them; a share

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in defraying them, though only four hundred, drawn out of the neareſt reductions, could arrive time enough to join the Spaniards. Father de Aguilar, ſuperior of theſe reductions, thought it his duty to accompany them in this expedition; and it was very happy he did, as otherwiſe the ill uſage they received from many amongſt the Spaniards, in ſpite of all he could do to prevent it, muſt have infallibly made them diſperſe, or neglect the duty they were upon; whereas, in conſequence of his pains to protect them from affronts, and keep them in good humour in ſpite of what they received, they behaved ſo well in every rencounter with the enemy, that great numbers of the latter were killed, upwards of twelve hundred taken priſoners; the reſt put to flight and purſued into the Cordilliere, where a thouſand more fell into the hands of the Spaniards. What is very ſurpriſing, all theſe advantages were gained without the loſs of a ſingle man.

THE campaign thus glorioully finiſhed, the Chiquites ſet out for their reductions, without accepting the leaſt ſhare of the plunder. In the mean time, the Chiriguanes, more exaſperated than weakened by their late defeat, again aſſembled all their forces and thoſe of their allies; reſolved not to lay down their arms, till they had waſhed away the ſhame of it in the blood of their enemies. At the ſight of theſe preparations, the governor of Santa Cruz, who probably was no ſtranger to ſome very bad treatment given the Chiquites in the firſt campaign, and who could not do without them, thought proper to repair to La Plata to engage the royal audience to interpoſe their authority to procure him a re-enforcement, which he imagined would never be granted merely at his requeſt. It is even probable, that he wrote on the occaſion to the viceroy of Peru, as appears by the tenor

1726.
1729.

of the following letter from the president of the royal audience.

"Most reverend Father,

"Don Francis Anthony de Argumosa, governor "of Santa Cruz, is come here, in consequence of "an order which the royal audience has received "from his excellency the viceroy of these king- "doms, immediately to chastise the barbarous Chi- "riguanes, who last year committed great hostilities "in the territory of Farija. He has represented to "me, that he would want for this purpose two hun- "dred Chiquites, as well on account of the great "terror, with which the bare sight of them is known "to strike the Chiriguanes, as because he has not "troops enough of his own to carry on the war; "and he has promised me to supply them with pro- "visions and horses for the expedition. I, there- "fore, write you this letter to request and injoin you "to send him the number of Chiquites he calls for, "and even some supernumeraries to fill up the places "of such as may happen to fall sick; and to do it "with such expedition, that they may be at Santa "Cruz by the end of May, or beginning of June at "farthest, in order to leave the other troops no pre- "text for not taking the field early enough for the "campaign to be over before the heavy rains, which, "without the diligence I require of you, might "oblige them to retreat without putting an end "to the war. Convinced, as I am, that your reve- "rence's zeal will engage you to do every thing "in your power to insure success to an enterprise "of so much importance to church and state, no- "thing more remains, than that I should beseech "God, and I ever shall, to preserve you many years. "At La Plata, the 13th of April, 1722.

"Your most affectionate Servant,

"Don Francis Herboso."

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The moment Father d'Aguilar received this letter, he set about raising two hundred and fifty Chiquites in the four reductions nearest to Santa Cruz; and apprehending, that in case he suffered them to march on foot to that place, where the governor was to provide them with horses, they might not arrive time enough, he took care not only to see them supplied with provisions, but well mounted; nor was his precaution useless, as the great colds and heavy rains, that attended them the whole way, would have otherwise rendered their march very slow and disagreeable. This second campaign, in which Father d'Aguilar could not accompany them, ended, however, with as much success, and as much to their honour, as the first.

BOOK X.

Don Diego de Los Reyes, named governor of Paraguay: provokes several of the inhabitants by his strict attachment to justice. A conspiracy against him. He causes the heads of it to be arrested, who, on their side, bring an accusation against him before the royal audience of La Plata. Don Joseph de Antequera and Castro, named judge inquisitor on the occasion; procures himself to be elected governor by the inhabitants in the room of Don Diego: treats Don Diego with great indignity; and behaves in general, with great dissoluteness, injustice, and cruelty. Don Diego makes his escape. Antequera marches towards the reductions at the head of his troops, and takes security for their quiet behaviour. Clashing orders of the viceroy, and the royal audience of La Plata, and the different stile of those orders, afford Antequera an handle to disobey both. Inhabitants of the Assumption equally refractory. Antequera causes Don Diego to be carried off by force from Corrientes, and confines him to a dungeon. His adherents address the king. Don Balthazar Garcia Ros sent to bring them to reason: baffled in the attempt by Antequera. Don Balthazar Garcia Ros sets out for the Assumption again with an armed force. Antequera drives the Jesuits out of their college there, and banishes them. Many, who had signed the edict of their banishment, recant. Antequera marches, at the head of his troops, against Don Balthazar; finds means to amuse him, and thereby disperse his army. Great number of the Reduction Indians killed: many more, with their pastors, taken prisoners, and extremely ill treated. Antequera

tequera resolves to reduce the reductions; frightens the Indians out of four of them; lays waste their territory; and enters the capital in triumph. Don Joseph de Palos, titular bishop of Tatulium, coadjutor to the bishop of Paraguay, arrives at the Assumption: engages Antequera and several of the rebels to promise submission to lawful authority. Antequera and the rebels, in the mean time, find means to amuse Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, governor of Rio de la Plata, who had orders to reduce them. Antequera again puts off the mask; greatly embarrassed.

SINCE the Jesuits had weathered the persecutions suffered by them in the province of Paraguay from Don Bernardin de Cardenes, and his partizans, or from those who judged this a favourable opportunity to incense the court of Madrid, and the royal council of the Indies, against them, they enjoyed there a calm, which they had the greater reason to think would be lasting, as it was, in a great measure, the fruits of the services rendered by their Neophytes to the province, of the blessing of God upon their apostolic labours, their unwearied assiduity to assist the ordinary pastors, or supply the frequent want of them; in short, of the confidence of the inhabitants of town and country, who always found in them all the spiritual assistance they could wish for; the poor especially, to whom they never failed to yield or procure ample relief. 1717. 1729.

BUT there still remained, in the hearts of many of the inhabitants, a leaven of ill will against them in regard to their Neophytes, whom they had at last found means to free from the drudgery of personal service, and whose number increased from day to day in proportion as the gospel gained ground among the infidels; and 1717. 1729.

these persons, it is but reasonable to think, waited only an opportunity to give these religious new uneasiness, and bury the liberties of their Neophytes under the ruins of their reductions; and this opportunity, the resentment of some private persons, the boundless ambition of one man, and a singular succession of unexpected events, soon furnished them with; at the same time that it filled the province with confusion and trouble, and hurried her into a revolt, which must have ended in her utter ruin, had the barbarians, with which she was surrounded, had sense enough to take advantage of it; and had not those very Neophytes, whom some persons would at any rate endeavour to enslave, formed a barrier, which the rebels could never force.

The people of Paraguay had long been expecting a governor, when they were surprised to hear, that the King had named to that important employment Don Diego de los Reyes, a private gentleman of the province of Andalousia, settled at the Assumption, where he filled the post of provincial Alcalde. Don Diego had the reputation of being a man of great honour, and was known to be an enemy to all violent measures; which, along with his great affability and courteousness, and the good connections he had formed in Paraguay, rendered the King's choice of him extremely agreeable to many of the inhabitants. But several, who looked upon themselves as superior to him in point of birth, employment, or service, could not brook his being so suddenly put over their heads. Accordingly, some of them thought to have opposed his reception, it being contrary to the laws, that the inhabitant of a place should become its governor. But the King having provided against this objection, in Don Diego's commission, he was received without any great bustle.

DON Diego was too well acquainted with this aversion against him to make the nobility and persons in employment feel, where there was not the greatest occasion for it, the weight of his authority. But he did not, perhaps, choose the properest point to stop at. It even appears, that he behaved with too much reserve towards certain persons, lest they should abuse his confidence to make themselves necessary; and gave them too clearly to understand, that he could do without them. This was more particularly the case in regard to the regidor Don Joseph d'Avalos, whose credit, acquired by his great talents for business, and his address in giving affairs what turn he liked best, had made all his councils pass for laws with the preceding governors. 1717. 1729.

HE was far, however, from wishing to make an enemy of so able and popular a man; and, therefore, offered him the place of king's lieutenant, that then happened to be vacant. But Don Joseph, who had already penetrated Don Diego's sentiments in regard to him, haughtily refused his offer; not because he considered this employment beneath him, but that he did not choose to receive it from the hands of a man, whom he was perhaps already resolved to ruin, or at least did not care to be obliged to by the strong ties of honour and gratitude. Be that as it will, Don Diego pretented not to be piqued at this refusal, though he could not but infer from it, what he had to fear from the regidor, who, on his side, concluded, from the offer made him by the governor, and the manner in which his refusal had been received, that the governor really feared him. Accordingly, he watched every opportunity to chagrine him; and, one having soon offered, he greedily embraced it.

DON Diego having refused one of Don Joseph's friends a favour, which he thought he could not in justice grant him, Don Joseph published a memorial,

in which the governor was very freely treated. As Don Joseph, however, did not own himself the author of it, Don Diego, though he at the same time redoubled his attention to increase the number of his friends, dissembled the affront more than became him; not sufficiently considering, that it was not sufficient to have upright intentions, in dealing with a man like the regidor, who had the art of poisoning the most innocent proceedings. Don Joseph, on his side, omitted nothing to form a party; and, among others, gained over to his interests Don Joseph de d'Urrunaga, a Biscayan gentleman, who scarce yielded to him in point of capacity; and had, besides, made connections with some of the first families of the province.

It was another act of justice, that brought this new enemy upon the governor's hands. The brother-in-law of d'Urrunaga wanted to get a spot of ground belonging to a poor widow; and, as he could not prevail on her to sell it, took measures to oblige her to part with it. Upon this, she had recourse to Don Diego, who maintained her in the possession of her property. This exasperated d'Urrunaga to such a degree, that having prevailed on d'Avalos to adopt his quarrel, they both went to the governor; and not only abused him in the grossest terms, but threatened to get him stript of his government. The little resentment shewn by Don Diego at this insolent behaviour drew upon him a new affront. Don Anthony Ruiz de Arrellano, son-in-law to the regidor, having likewise met with a refusal from him, treated him with still greater indignity.

Upon this, at length, he determined not to carry his moderation any further; and, as he could no longer doubt of a conspiracy being formed against him, he caused d'Avalos and d'Urrunaga to be arrested, and delivered them over to justice. The first was imprisoned in the castle of Arracusana; and the

the second, in his own house. As to Arrellano, he retired to a place of safety. The governor, however, did not discover the blows that were preparing against him, till it was too late to ward them. For, though this vigorous step of his had stunned his enemies, who did not think he had so much resolution, it did not disconcert them; so that they took much less trouble to defend themselves against him, than to oblige him to stand himself on the defensive.

Whether or no he was imprudent enough not to take just measures to hinder them from carrying on a correspondence with each other, or being visited by their friends, certain it is, that they concerted a scheme to ruin him, and commenced a criminal prosecution against him before the royal audience of Las Charcas. It consisted of six heads, to which they gave such a turn and such colours, as could not but make a great impression upon that sovereign court; especially as they were supported by a well written memorial, brought to La Plata by Arrellano himself, who, fearing he should no longer be able to screen himself from the pursuits of the governor, thought proper to take refuge in that city.

He did not, however, think proper to present it himself, but made use of Thomas de Cardenas, a relation of his wife, for that purpose; and, as the court, on reading it, did not show any impatience to send an officer to take informations on the spot, as they were requested, Cardenas caballed so well, and exposed in such lively colours the great danger of deferring any longer a remedy to the great evils, with which, he said, the province of Paraguay was threatened, that he at last prevailed upon them to name a judge informer; and, unhappily, their choice fell upon Don Joseph de Antequera and Castro, Knight of the order of Alcantara, a man of family, genius, and learning; but, for want of those qualities of which the heart is reckoned the proper seat, the only member

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of the royal audience, who, as having been already named by the viceroy of Peru to succeed Don Diego in that employment, should, were it on no other account, have been excluded from it.

Don Joseph needed to wait but a very short time to succeed Don Diego, the custom now being not to leave the governors more than five years in those provinces; but, short as it was, it appeared too long to him, so that, as soon as he found the royal audience resolved to send a judge informer to Paraguay, he solicited the commission. It is surprising he should not know, that it by no means became him to ask it; and still more surprising that he should have obtained it. The royal audience, in granting it to him, overlooked a law, for they could not be ignorant of it, expressly forbidding any person named to succeed a governor, to be commissioned to inform against him; and nothing could prove the wisdom of this law better, than the transactions we are now going to take a view of.

Don Joseph's commission was dated the 15th of January, 1721; and, the moment he received it, he set out, though ill provided to appear in a manner suitable to it, for Paraguay; but, on his arrival at Santiago of Tucuman, some persons there, for whom he brought letters of credit from La Plata, supplied him with every thing requisite for that purpose. In his way through Santafé, he met with some persons, who, thinking his journey a favourable opportunity to send their goods for sale to Paraguay, made an agreement with him to his advantage. From thence he proceeded, first, by land, through some of the reductions, which did not lie much out of his way, and was received there with great honours. Don Antonio de Ulloa is, however, mistaken, in saying, that he had from the royal audience a special commission to do so.

THE missionaries gave him for the rest of his journey an escort of their Neophytes, 1721.
loaded with provisions and refreshments of 1729.
every kind. On his arrival at the place where the Tebiquari forms a boundary between the provinces of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, he found the regidor Don Joseph d'Avalos, with some of his friends, who informed him, that Don Diego de los Reyes was actually visiting the reductions of the Parana; and from thence took an opportunity of saying a great many things to the disadvantage of the Jesuits. These religious, still fated to have for their enemies the enemies of all lawful authority, shared with Don Diego the aversion of those who had conspired his ruin.

DON Joseph d'Avalos had ordered a great entertainment to be prepared for Don Joseph's reception, at a farm house belonging to a lady of his relations; and the lady herself was come there to do the honours of it. But the first news the company heard on their arrival was, that she had just expired of a miscarriage; which laid them under a necessity of providing elsewhere for themselves. The day following, Don Joseph entered the Assumption amidst repeated discharges of the cannon; but, in his way to the lodgings prepared for him, he was stopt by the funeral convoy of the lady, who was to have received him at her farm house; when the clashing between the melancholy sound of the bells and the joyful acclamations of the multitude gave the populace, accustomed to turn every accident into an omen, great room for expatiating on two such cross-events.

But the manner in which he entered the cathedral, the place to which they first conducted him, and his behaviour there, suggested to the most sensible reflections no way to his advantage; for he had his hat still tied with strings, just as he had worn it during the journey; and, though the dean received him at the head of

of the chapter with the greatest marks of respect; yet, as he found neither carpet, cushion, or chair of state ready for him, he broke out into a great passion against this ecclesiastic, who governed the diocese, during the vacancy of the see, in a manner which greatly scandalized the people, accustomed to see the ministers of the Lord, constituted in dignity, much more respected, even by persons of the highest rank, especially in the places dedicated to God's worship.

SOME days after, a party of the Guaycurus having approached the capital, some of them, in order to draw the garrison into an ambuscade prepared at the other side of the river, came to ask assistance against the enemies of their nation, by whom they said they were pursued. This was a very gross trick, but it succeeded notwithstanding. Several Spaniards crossed the river to join the Guaycurus; but as, in proportion as they advanced, the barbarians retreated from the banks, the most considerate began to suspect some foul play, and returned back. Nine, who ventured further, fell into the ambuscade, and were all murdered in sight of the whole town, Antequera himself not excepted, who thereupon flung his hat on the ground, telling those about him, that he was not come to make war upon the Indians; and that it was the business of the magistrates to provide for the security of the province and its capital.

DON Diego's enemies, however, thought proper to take advantage of this accident, and of the governor's absence, to offer to acknowledge Antequera for their general; and, on his accepting their offer, proclaimed his promotion; and that too without opposition; the inhabitants having been made to believe, that this appointment was necessary in the present conjuncture. The informations he came to take, were already drawn up; but as, notwithstanding the shew made by him of the most perfect disinterestedness, it easily appeared, that presents were the surest method

method to obtain his favour, those who wished worst to Don Diego took advantage of this disposition. Don Diego, however, being informed of Antequera's practices, immediately set out for the capital, but he arrived there too late. Antequera had already made himself master of it, so that Don Diego, the very next day after his arrival there, was suspended from all the functions of his office, and banished to an Indian village seven or eight leagues off, on pretence, that the freedom of the informations required his absence. Be that as it will, his dignity entitled him to some respect, and he met with none. Nay, justice required, that those who had declared too openly against him should, likewise, be ordered to remove elsewhere; whereas they were permitted to remain. They even triumphed so openly at his humiliation, that from this moment every one considered him as a lost man.

In fact, his enemies, after this first step, proceeded against him, without any regard to decency or justice. They gave what turn they pleased to the informations against him; and found means to get so many persons to sign them, that the royal audience concluded, at the first sight of them, that they must be the voice of the public; so that, for several years after, they considered Don Diego as a criminal convicted of the greatest crimes, and, therefore, justly stript of his commission. All this time, however, he had neither been heard nor confronted. On the fifteenth of September, the council general of the province assembled, in order to put the last hand to this work of iniquity by the most injudicial sentence that ever was given. Antequera presented to them the commission he had received from the Viceroy to succeed Don Diego; and, though Don Diego's time was not as yet expired, they resolved, that a man, so generally acknowledged guilty of the greatest crimes, could no longer be considered as governor.

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In vain did Don Miguel de Torrez, the first alcalde, endeavour to enforce the law forbidding a judge informer to succeed a governor against whom he had informed. Antequera himself made answer, that this law was not made for those, who, like him, had the honour of being members of the royal audience. Torrez replied, that it was express and without exception. But then he was the only man of this opinion, or who dared to own it. The council cried out, that, whoever did not acknowledge the lord Don Joseph de Antequera and Castro for lawful governor of the province, should be considered as a traitor to his King and country. Upon this, Antequera sent immediately to Don Diego for his staff of command.

Don Diego answered, that he would not part with it, till they could shew him the viceroy's order for that purpose. To this the officer charged to get it from him replied, that he had nothing to do but obey the orders given him by the new governor; then wrested it from him by force; placed guards about the house, in which he had taken up his residence; and declared to him, that these guards should remain there at his expence. Then, to give a better colour to what they had done, they thought proper to appear willing to give the cause a second hearing; assigned Don Diego an attorney, whose incapacity was notorious. On this occasion, several persons, who had deposed in his favour, were greatly surprised to hear, that their depositions accused him instead of exculpating him, which was partly owing to their having been interrogated in such a manner, that their answers admitted a meaning quite opposite to what they intended. Besides, measures had been taken to alienate from him, by false reports, several of those, who were most attached to him; and even make some of his most zealous servants disappear by ill treating

treating such of the rest, as had declared too openly in his favour.

It has been urged, that he had, by some imprudent steps, given occasion to the accusations brought against him; and that he had not address enough to retain in his interest, all those who first espoused it. But it is certain, that it was dangerous to speak in his favour, as the King's lieutenant, Don Joseph Delgado, experienced to his cost. Antequera, under some pretext or another, ordered him to a dungeon, where he died, in about two years, in the most edifying sentiments of religion. After all, these violences, as well as the proceedings against Don Diego himself, were carried on with great formality, and with an air of moderation, which imposed upon several persons. In proportion as the depositions, to which d'Avalos failed not to give the most unfavourable turn, leaned heavy upon Don Diego, the judge informer put on a sorrowful countenance; seemingly lamenting the hard necessity he was under of ruining a man, whom he would have been overjoyed to be able to save; so that it is no way surprising, that it should have cost the royal audience of Lima, which was afterwards charged with the revision of the whole affair, no less than ten years to lay open those machinations, and rescue from the labyrinth they formed the innocence of Don Diego de los Reyes.

When all the pieces that formed this great process had been sent off to Lima, the new 1722. governor, finding he had no longer any oppo- 1729. sition to fear, began to think seriously on filling his coffers, and, as he was resolved to employ for that purpose all the opportunities given by his new dignity, he began by lowering the price of the herb of Paraguay, and every other article usually exported from his government, that he might be able to buy it up cheap, in order to send it to Peru for his own account. To effect this, he forbid so much

much as a single arrobe, the King's share not excepted; to be sent out of the province without his leave; and never gave leave to any, but such as bought these commodities from him.

To this base monopoly, of which no one dared to complain, he added the most crying scandal. A friar having brought him some goods from Perù, he made him his factor, and put him into a shop, where a priest, and a regular priest too, and one known for such, though in a lay habit, was to be seen acting the part of a shopkeeper. There being a convent of his order at the Assumption, the superior of it did all that lay in his power to make him shut up shop; and, finding his own authority insufficient for that purpose, prepared to have recourse to some other. But Antequera, to prevent his doing it, stript his monastery of all its slaves, in conjunction with the provisor, who then governed the diocese, on pretence that they were undeservedly ill treated.

All this while Don Diego de los Reyes endured his confinement, and the ill treatment by which it was aggravated, with an apparent insensibility, which gave such offence to his enemies, that he was given to understand, that they were about to make it much more disagreeable. On receiving this intelligence, he resolved, cost what it would, to save himself. Having disguised himself like a slave, he slipt through his guards in the night time; and had the good fortune to reach unobserved a place at some distance, where he had appointed horses to meet him. He then made as fast as he could, and almost without baiting, for the first reduction on the Parana; and from thence fell down that river to Buenos Ayres, resolved to pass from thence into Spain, and implore, in person, the justice of his Catholic Majesty.

This escape gave Antequera the greatest uneasiness, especially as he could not for some time discover what was become of his prisoner. Some persons told him,

him, that Don Joſeph had taken refuge in the convent of the fathers of the Merci at the Aſſumption, upon which he cauſed it to be ſurrounded with ſoldiers. Others aſſured him, that Don Diego lay hid in the Jeſuits college; but he ſoon received certain intelligence of his having turned towards the Parana reductions. Upon this he diſpatched a courier there with orders to arreſt him, and a commiſſion to require, for that purpoſe, the aſſiſtance of perſons in power, wherever he might be concealed. Then, to vent his rage at Don Diego's eſcape, he cauſed all his effects to be ſold by auction; and, having taken good meaſures to prevent their being raiſed upon him, bought the beſt of them, under borrowed names, at his own price.

He next proceeded to confiſcate all the effects of thoſe whom he knew to be ſtill in Don Diego's intereſts, without any regard to the rights and privileges of their wives. To juſtify theſe violences, his emiſſaries filled the province with their writings againſt the depoſed governor. It was enough to ſpeak well of him, to be treated as an enemy to King and country: as to praiſe the wiſdom, equity, and diſintereſtedneſs of his ſucceſſor, enough to obtain all manner of favours from him.

Don Diego, on his ſide, had no ſooner landed at Buenos Ayres, than he received ſuch news, as induced him to lay aſide all thoughts of paſſing over into Spain. The archbiſhop of Lima, viceroy of Peru, on hearing of the commiſſion granted to Don Joſeph de Antequera by the Royal Audience of Charcas, and his firſt ſteps in quality of Judge Informer, cauſed a new commiſſion to be made out, dated the 16th of February, 1722, which reinſtated the depoſed governor, till his Majeſty ſhould appoint him a ſucceſſor. He likewiſe evoked to his own tribunal the charge brought againſt him; annulled all the proceedings at the Aſſumption; de-

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clared the election of Don Joseph de Antequera to the government of Paraguay, void and contrary to law; and ordered him immediately to quit that province. A few days after, Don Diego received a full confirmation of this intelligence, by the arrival of his new commission.

The viceroy, not thinking this enough, gave the Royal Audience to understand, by a letter dated the 21st of March, of the same year, that he was greatly surprized at their being more ready to give credit to the memoirs and informations of a man, who had, contrary to law, forced himself into the government of a province, and had taken upon him to try the governor of it without a sufficient authority for so doing, than to the instructions of the most respectable persons, such as the most illustrious bishop of Buenos Ayres, the ecclesiastic superiors, both secular and regular, and the fathers of the company, "who in "these provinces, as in all other places (such are the "viceroy's own words) distinguish themselves on "every occasion by their zeal for church and state; "truths, of such publick notoriety, that none but "Don Joseph de Antequera dare to contradict them. "Nor would he, but that they do not approve his "conduct, nor adopt his sentiments concerning Don "Diego de los Reyes."

The royal audience, in answer to the viceroy, after assuring him of the uprightness of their intentions, in all the steps they had taken relative to the province of Paraguay, protested, that they had never given credit to what Don Joseph de Antequera had written to them to the disadvantage of the fathers of the company; improved upon the praises, with which his excellency had honoured them; and then, endeavouring to account for Antequera's prejudices against them, added, that he should not have been so ready to believe, what passion dictated to the disadvantage of persons of such merit. But, unhappily for the province

province of Paraguay, this sovereign court still continued in the persuasion, that Don Diego de los Reyes had been convicted of all the crimes laid to his charge; that the viceroy had suffered himself to be imposed on by persons, against whom he was not sufficiently on his guard, when he granted the order for reinstating him; so that they took little or no offence at the excesses committed by Antequera, whom they did not believe to be the author of the calumnies, with which the viceroy reproached him, till he had overturned the whole province.

On the other hand, Don Diego, on receiving his new commissions, too easily imagined, that Antequera would not dare oppose the viceroy's orders; and therefore, without thinking more of the matter, set out for the Assumption; whereas he should have considered, that his enemy had advanced too far to be willing to retreat; and that he could scarce apprehend worse consequences from an open refusal to obey, than from an inquiry into the excesses he had already committed. In fact, Antequera no sooner received advice of the viceroy's dispatches, than he immediately began to propagate a report, that they were forged. Then, to prove it, he assembled the corporation, and produced a letter which he had received from the viceroy in the year 1720, but which, however, he did not take upon him to say was of the same date with his commission for the government of Paraguay, which was not to take place till the term granted Don Diego was expired.

And, lest it might be objected, that this commission was repealed by the new one Don Diego had lately received, and that his letter, of course, proved nothing, he altered the date of it in the copy he produced. He found it no difficult matter to persuade people, whose interests were so intimately connected with his own; and being so well assured that they would support him, he, that very day, sent off cap-

tain Ramon de las Llanas, the worthy instrument of all his violences, with two hundred men in order to meet Don Diego, and put him under arrest.

Don Diego, having taken the province of Uruguay in his way, wrote, during his journey, very polite letters to Antequera, and several other persons, to give them an account of his approach; and, though he received no answer to them, continued his journey with as much unconcern, as if he had nothing to fear. His whole retinue consisted of some domesticks, and some reduction Indians who carried provisions, followed by a few carts loaded with his baggage. At length he arrived at Tabati, which lies within twenty-five leagues of the Assumption; and it was here he first received notice of the orders given to put him under arrest. Soon after he received intelligence, that Don Ramon de las Llanas, and Don Joseph de Arcé, Alcalde of the Holy Hermandad, commissioned to do it, were at no great distance.

He now saw, that he had no time to lose; and, therefore, immediately set out for the nearest of the Parana reductions, which he reached in a manner without any retinue. He had scarce left Tabati, when Don Ramon arrived there with his band. It was in vain the inhabitants endeavoured to persuade him, that Don Diego was gone; he would not believe them. He began by ordering the Indians, who drove Don Diego's carts, to be whipt, and suffered them to be otherwise ill used, in order to oblige them to confess where he was. When he could obtain no intelligence this way, he ordered a strict search to be made. Don Augustin de los Reyes, son to the governor, who was in deacon's orders, and who was probably come to this place to meet his father, and father Joseph de Fris, a dominican, and chaplain of the place, were treated with great indignity. Don Ramon, after abusing the latter in the grossest manner, struck him over the head with the but end of his

his musket; threatened to hang him, if he did not open his church, where he expected to find Don Diego; and, in looking for him, turned over every thing, even the ornaments under the altar.

THEN, enraged at not finding him, he seized on the carts; put Father de Fris into one of them, and Don Augustin into the other; ordered the Indians to follow them; and set out with them for the Capital; But, when he had got within five leagues of it, he sent back Father Fris. The Alcalde, Don Joseph de Arcé, having discovered, that it was Don Joseph Cavallero de Bacon, parish priest of Yaguaron, who had given Don Diego notice of their approach, and supplied him with horses to make his escape, he brought him prisoner to the Assumption, where Antequera caused him to be proceeded against by the provisor, who forced him to resign his parish.

THIS provisor was the licentiate Don Alphonso Delgadillo, canon of the cathedral, and successor to Don John Gonzalez de Melgarejo, who had resigned his employment, as he could not exercise the functions of it freely, under the present administration. Delgadillo, besides being entirely devoted to Antequera, was, in every other respect, such a man as he wanted to be able to violate with impunity all the immunities of the church. Antequera, however, soon discovered, that Don Diego had found means to get dispersed, in the Assumption, several copies of his new commission; and that they already began to excite some murmurs there; but to those who spoke to him of them he made no other answer, than that he had a right to consider them as forged, till the original was produced to him: however, least any of the inhabitants should produce an authentic copy, he stopt all the letters going or coming; not considering, that this was one of his principal charges against Don Diego de los Reyes. But he thought he might

do any thing he pleaſed, becauſe no one had courage enough to oppoſe him.

One of the moſt reſpectable ladies of the
1723. city, both in point of rank and virtue, hav-
1729. ing openly taken Don Diego's part, Antequera forgot himſelf ſo far as to threaten to ruin her. But, as ſhe was very handſome, as well as very virtuous, his reſentment gave way to another paſſion, which he was ſtill leſs able to ſtifle. Having intimidated her enough, as he thought, not to meet with a repulſe, he ſent one of his confidants to ſound her; and, upon her receiving his propoſals with the greateſt marks of indignation and contempt, forbid her to ſtir abroad, alledging the intereſt ſhe openly took in Don Diego's diſgrace, as an excuſe for ſo unprecedented a violence. But the inhabitants knew too much of his proceedings to be thus impoſed on; and the veil, with which he ſought to hide the cauſe of his reſentment, ſerved only to make his infamy more public.

This adventure, beſides giving him great uneaſineſs, made him make ſome reflections on ſuch conſequences of the part he was acting, as he had hitherto little dreamed of. He could no longer impoſe upon himſelf ſo far as to believe, that Don Diego's commiſſion was not real and in good form; and, on ſome occaſions, appeared ſufficiently aware, that it would be impoſſible for him to hold the place he had uſurped, without rendering himſelf guilty of a crime, for which no pardon was to be expected. But, as he could not, however, prevail upon himſelf to give up his ill-got power, he endeavoured to find out a pretence for retaining it, without running any great riſk; and having, as he thought, light upon one, he communicated it to his ſecret council, as a thought juſt come into his head, and in regard to which he had not as yet taken any reſolution. "It is certain, ſaid "he, that for provinces ſo diſtant from court, it is

"lawful

"lawful to make even three representations to his "Majesty, before they obey his orders. Now, how "much more allowable must this be, in regard to "the orders of a viceroy?" Then, without waiting for their answer, he added, that, all things maturely considered, he was resolved to abide by what the two Chapters * had decided; that it was they who had choosen him for their governor, and that it was their business to consider, if it would be safe for them to reinstate another, who, they might be sure, would never forgive their having deposed him.

He then assembled the council; and, after communicating to them Don Diego's new commission, he made a long harangue, which he began by protesting, that he had accepted the government with no other view, than to rescue the province from the distress, to which Don Diego had reduced it. He then declared, that, if, on the one hand, he thought himself indispensably bound to withdraw, in obedience to the viceroy's orders, he, on the other, considered himself equally obliged, in justice to so many persons of merit, and so many loyal subjects, who had done him the honour to chuse him for their governor, not to abandon them, without their consent, to the resentment of a man, who would make them pay dear for all the steps they had taken against him.

The Alfarez royal, Don Dennis de Otazu, and the rigidor, Don John Cavallero de Anasco, who had never approved their proceedings against Don Diego, were of opinion, that they could not, on any pretence whatsoever, defer obeying the viceroy's orders. But the majority, after greatly exaggerating the evils the province must suffer, if Don Diego came to be reinstated in the government, voted, that

* The Secular Chapter is composed of the Alcaldes and the Regidors, and the Ecclesiastical Chapter of such ecclesiasticks, as their dignities entitle to a place in the city council.

the strongest representations should be made to the viceroy; and that Don Joseph de Antequera and Castro should be obliged to act as governor till they received his excellency's answer. This opinion prevailed, and Antequera yielded to it.

Some days after, Otazu and Cavallero de Añasco were interdicted the functions of their respective offices. The first supported his disgrace, in a manner suitable to that firmness, which had occasioned it. The second, who had been already very ill used, and foresaw, that utter ruin must be the consequence of his not feigning to comply with what was required of him, yielded in appearance to the opinion of the majority, and was, therefore, re-instated. But it was too great a violence upon his integrity to be of long continuance. Accordingly, immediately after, he made his appearance before the ecclesiastical judge, and protested, that he had complied merely to avoid a cruel persecution, and beggary. Antequera finding, notwithstanding, he could now depend more than ever upon his adherents, proceeded at such a rate, as to give but too just grounds of apprehension to the boldest of them. Don Joseph d'Avalos was one day heard to say pretty openly, "This man is going on "so headlong, that I do not know where he will "stop."

But, as they had no apology to make for remonstrating to the viceroy against Don Diego's re-establishment, except their apprehensions of the evils, with which they affected to believe it must unavoidably be attended, they instituted new informations, in order to persuade his excellency that their fears were well grounded; and observed no measures in drawing them up. They painted Don Diego in them in the blackest colours; and some persons, who had refused to sign them, were sent to prison strongly bolted, and bound two by two with a long chain, without leave to speak to any

any one, even those who brought them their victuals, which were given in to them through a window. When they had remained for some days in this disagreeable situation, two ecclesiastics were sent to induce them to comply. One of these ecclesiastics was the provisor Delgadillo, and the other the dean of the cathedral, who had been attacked by a fit of madness, and was not as yet thoroughly recovered. The provisor, it is said, attempted to persuade them that the viceroy was dead. But, if he did, it was to no purpose; they could not be brought to believe it.

In the mean time, Antequera could enjoy no rest, fearing, lest Don Diego should return at the head of an army of the reduction Indians; and, in fact, it was soon after reported, that there were already eight thousand of them ready to follow him. Upon this, in order to be before hand with them, he marched towards that side of the country where the reductions lie, with a thousand men of the best troops of the province; and, on his arrival near the Tebiquari, wrote to the Neophytes to forbid them to stir from home under the severest penalties; an injunction, which surprized them the more, as they did not so much as dream of it.

It was thus he began to declare openly against the Jesuits, who he could not but know thought very ill of his proceedings, though they behaved towards him with the greatest circumspection. He flattered himself, that by thus proceeding against them, like Don Bernardin de Cadenas, he should draw over a great many persons to his party. These religious, therefore, fearing lest he should cross the Tebiquari; and even march to the reductions, especially with troops, which he permitted to live at discretion; and, by thus laying the Indians under the necessity of a just defence, bring on a civil war, which could not but be attended with the most fatal consequences,

wrote

wrote him a polite letter to beg he might abſtain from any further violence.

This letter he immediately anſwered by another full of invectives againſt them and Don Diego. However, he promiſed them, that he would proceed no further; but at the ſame time declared, that, if they or any of their Indians failed to comply with the leaſt of his orders, he would make them ſmart for their refractorineſs. Accordingly, he decamped a few days after, and marched back to the Aſſumption. Several perſons attributed his ſudden retreat to the fear of being attacked by theſe brave Indians; and it is certain, that, if Don Diego de los Reyes had happened to be at this time in the Parana reductions, he might have raiſed a good number of their Indians, and have eaſily carried off his enemy, as he did not make his ſoldiers obſerve any diſcipline.

Antequera, before he decamped, having ſent for the corregidor, the alcaldes, and military officers of the four reductions, that lay neareſt to the Tebiquari; and the Fathers Francis de Roblez and Anthony de Ribera, who conducted them to his camp, having aſſured him, that no ſtep ſhould be taken in any of their towns, without poſitive orders from the king or the ſuperior tribunals, he feigned to take up with this promiſe, all to his requiring, that the Indians ſhould make it in their own names. But, on their appearing before him for that purpoſe, he perplexed them ſo much by his queſtions, and intimidated them ſo much by his menaces, and the tone of voice with which he uttered them, that, in the end, they knew not what they ſaid. One of them even loſt his ſenſes for ſeveral days together.

Don Joſeph d'Avalos, who accompanied Antequera in this expedition, had ſcarce ſet out on his return to the Aſſumption, when he was ſeized with a fit of the apoplexy, which carried him off in two days without his ever coming to himſelf again. The accomplices

complices in his violences were those who regretted him least. For, besides that connections formed by guilt cannot produce a sincere friendship, they were all jealous of his credit, or could not bear his abusing it to domineer over them. On the other hand, those, who detested him as the author of the evils which afflicted the province, were not without some hopes, that by his superiority of genius, and the ascendant he had gained over that of Antequera, he might hinder him from pushing the rebellion to the lengths he afterwards did. The Jesuits, in particular, thought they had some reason to regret him, as Urrunaga, who hated them through passion, by his death came to be the head of the secret council of a party, from whom they already feared every thing that afterwards happened.

THIS council was now chiefly employed in preparing memorials for the royal audience of Charcas. But, as Antequera feared the Jesuits might inform that superior court of several things, which could not but prejudice it against him, he omitted nothing to recover their good graces. He began by protesting, that he had written nothing against them or their Neophytes. But they knew too much of his actions to trust to his words. They knew, that, on his attempting to oblige several persons in employment to sign what he had written concerning them, three of the number had immediately refused to comply; and that, two of these three having at last yielded, Ozatu the third stood out; and that this firmness had in a great measure contributed to his disgrace.

THIS secret council had already resolved on the ruin of the Jesuits; and was now employed in preparing informations, under hand against them. But all these schemes of ambition and revenge did not so engross Antequera's attention, as to hinder him from taking advantage of every opportunity to enrich himself; and, at the same time, satiate the infamous passion,

passion, which rendered him the terror of all the modest women of the city, whom he was not ashamed to address, when they happened to please him, in a manner capable of putting the least modest to the blush; and that too without any regard to time or place, though this alone was sufficient to alienate the first families of the province. It was very surprizing, that in a nation, which carries further than any other its delicacy in this respect, a man, who acted with so little reserve, should have found means to acquire so many adherents, and engage almost a whole province in a revolt. Nothing proves better the ascendant, which ambition and avarice possess over all the other passions.

But there was still less reason to expect, that this blindness could ever degenerate into a kind of fanaticism. Nevertheless, a friar, who passed for Antequera's confessor, was not ashamed, from the pulpit of the cathedral, to cry up the shining qualities and eminent virtues of his penitent; adding, that he was so much considered at court, that the king had offered him the viceroyalty of Peru; but that, his great moderation having made him refuse it, his majesty had promoted him to the employment of protector of the Indians in the royal audience of Charcas, as it gave him an extraordinary opportunity to exercise his tender and compassionate charity towards the most wretched of mortals.

It was the interest of too many persons, that all this should be swallowed by the public, not to approve what the preacher said; and they knew so well how to lead the people by the nose, that most of the audience went out of church thanking God for having given them a governor of so much merit. These applauses, so flattering to the usurper's vanity, were succeeded by a more solid comfort. Some time after, he received a decree of the royal audience of Charcas, dated the 3d of March 1723, forbidding, provisionally, and

and till the viceroy, to whom this tribunal had sent the informations taken at the Assumption against Don Diego, had declared his intention, and by their channel, all manner of persons, on pain of ten thousand crowns, to attempt any alteration in the present government of the province; with a request and injunction to the ecclesiastical judge to punish severely Doctor John Cavallero de Bacan, parish priest of Yaguaron, for the crimes of which they said he had been convicted.

HOWEVER, the royal audience did not intend, that the viceroy's orders should not be executed till they had passed through its channel; and, accordingly, explained itself on that head in the most formal terms, as soon as it discovered what a bad use had been made of its words. But then it firmly replied, as it has since protested in another decree, which we shall mention in its place, that in an affair within its jurisdiction, and of which it had taken cognizance, the viceroy would come to no resolution without taking its advice. It imagined, besides, that one of its members, especially a man of Don Joseph de Antequera's abilities, would never take it into his head to give the clause in question a meaning so opposite to its intentions, or make a bad use of it. For not only he understood it in the sense which this sovereign court has always disavowed; but undertook to persuade the whole province, that the royal audience was, on the present occasion, superior to the viceroy himself; and had a right to expect, that, without approbation, nothing injoined by his excellency, within the extent of its jurisdiction, could be of any force. This odd position he endeavoured to prove, by observing that all the decrees of the royal audience were given in the king's name, and began with these words, *Don Lewis, by the grace of God*, &c. whereas the edicts of the viceroy began *Don Fray Diego Marcillo.*

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It was a long time, before this false interpretation of his came to be known at Lima, or La Plata, whose audiences, had they been informed of it, would not have failed to explain themselves in such a manner as, to leave Antequera no shadow of excuse. This ignorance of theirs was the more unhappy, as the viceroy, who suspected some members of the first of too great an inclination to favour a man of their own body, did not think proper to acquaint it with the orders he had sent to the Assumption. He was, besides, much displeased with the whole body for having acknowledged Antequera for governor of Paraguay, though rendered incapable of that employment by acting as a judge informer against his predecessor; this consideration made his excellency issue a fresh order to Antequera to return to La Plata, to re-assume the exercise of his charge on pain of six thousand livres; and another order, which the royal audience was charged to see punctually executed, that Don Diego de los Reyes should be immediately acknowledged governor of Paraguay. This second order was followed by a letter in which the viceroy informed that court, that, having communicated to Father Garriga, visitor of the Jesuits of Paraguay, all the charges brought by Antequera against them, this father had answered them in so solid a manner, that neither himself, nor the royal audience of Lima, could any longer doubt of his being guilty of the blackest calumnies.

The viceroy, before he had written this second letter to the royal audience of La Plata, had received one from that court importing, that they judged it requisite, that Antequera should be recalled from Paraguay, since he had finished the business for which he had been sent there. To this letter he made answer, that the true motive for recalling him should be his behaviour in that province, and the trouble and confusion, with which he had filled it; which would never

never have happened, added the viceroy, had you attended to the law, which forbids the person named to succeed a governor to act as judge informer against him." He then expatiated on the offences committed against him by some of its members, and declared that he would complain of them to his majesty. These threats made such an impression on the royal audience, that they made him all the satisfaction he could reasonably wish for; assured him, that they had given no credit to what had been written to the disadvantage of the missionaries, and that they were charmed that his excellency and the royal audience of Lima had done the same justice to these fathers.

The viceroy's orders, which we just now mentioned, were very far from being received at the Assumption, in the same manner with the letters written by him to the royal audience of La Plata. Antequera forgot himself so far on the receipt of them, that he openly avowed his resolution to maintain himself in his government in spite of all the dispatches he might receive from Lima; and it must be owned, that this resolution of his, and the whole tenor of his subsequent behaviour, might have given rise to a report that since obtained of his aiming at nothing less, than the sovereignty of Paraguay. He even resolved not to have any more communication with the royal audience of La Plata, from which he saw he could not for the future expect any protection.

The viceroy's orders directed: first, that Don Diego de los Reyes, and those who on his account had been deprived of their employments, should be reinstated; with an express inhibition, however, to Don Diego to take any step against those, who had contributed to his being displaced; it being the business of the ordinary tribunals to prosecute them. Secondly, that the effects confiscated by Don Joseph de Antequera should be immediately restored to the owners. Thirdly, that himself should immediately quit

quit the province of Paraguay, and appear in person before his tribunal without passing through La Plata; that he should bring with him the minutes of all the edicts he had issued, which henceforward were declared to be null and of no effect; and all on pain of ten thousand crowns.

To insure obedience to these orders, the viceroy addressed them to Don Balthazar Garcia Ros, the king's lieutenant at Rio de la Plata, and formerly governor of Paraguay; and invested him with all the powers necessary to execute them, enjoining him to cause both to be published, as soon as he received them, in the great square of Buenos Ayres. And lest this officer should not be able to repair to Paraguay, the viceroy named no less than three persons to supply his place. Lastly, as the execution of this commission was attended with some danger, his excellency, to prevent its being declined on that account, added a penalty of four thousand crowns against those, who should refuse to accept of it without a lawful excuse. The viceroy next declared, that, if any officer, civil or military, formed the least obstacle to the execution of his orders, he should, besides paying a fine proportioned to the greatness of his guilt, be stript of his employment, and banished all the provinces subject to the kingdom of Peru.

Don Balthazar, or the person on whom in his absence this commission might happen to devolve, was authorized, in case he had reason to apprehend any resistance, to call to his assistance, wherever he thought proper, the civil and military powers. And, lest Antequera and his accomplices should assign the fear of being exposed to the resentment of Don Diego, in case he should be restored to his government by force; as a reason for not obeying the viceroy's orders, the person, who executed them, was to govern the province in chief, till peace and order should be perfectly restored. This dispatch was dated

ted the eighth of June, and had not been communicated to the royal audience of Charcas.

THIS choice of Don Balthazar Garcia Ros, to execute a commission of so much importance, was the more judicious, as, while this officer governed the province of Paraguay, he had gained the confidence and esteem of all the inhabitants. Antequera, however, found means to persuade the greatest part of them, that it would be the same thing for them, whether they had him for commandant, or Don Diego for governor, as they were intimate friends; and they had, besides, nothing to hope from the first, and every thing to fear from the latter. Upon this, they resolved not to receive one or the other, nor any other person of the viceroy's nomination; but then they thought proper to keep this resolution a secret, till Don Diego's commission, and the viceroy's orders, of which no account had as yet been received but by private letters, should be notified to them in due form.

DON Diego had directed his commission to his son Don Augustin, recommending to him, above all things, to contrive matters so, that Antequera might not be able to deny its having been notified. For this reason, Antequera having promised to assist at a kind of tilt, which the scholars of the Jesuits were to perform in the square before their college, on the eve of St. Ignatius's day, Don Augustin, the moment Antequera made his appearance, followed by a numerous retinue of the civil and military officers and principal inhabitants of the place, drew up to him, accompanied by two ecclesiastics; shewed him the dispatches of the viceroy in favour of his father; and required him to assemble the corporation, in order to receive them in due form.

ANTEQUERA took the dispatches, fell foul of Don Augustin and the two other clergymen, and kept them prisoners for three days in the vestry of the cathedral.

thedral. Some of those, who accompanied him, having suggested, that the Jesuits might have contrived this plan for Don Augustin, the thoughts of it immediately awakened all his hatred against these religious. But Father Paul Restivo, rector of the college, having upon this solemnly protested, that neither he nor any of his brethren knew any thing of Don Augustin's intentions, he seemed to be satisfied, as Father Restivo was generally allowed to be a man of great uprightness and probity.

THE passion, into which the receipt of the viceroy's dispatches had thrown Antequera, encreasing greatly on the perusal of them, he vented his anger on Don Francis de Arce, who was one of the officers named to replace Don Balthazar Garcia Ros, in case he could not repair to Paraguay. He confiscated all his effects; ordered him to be conducted, in a very indecent manner, to a castle, and kept there as long as he continued master of the province. But his chief aim being to secure Don Diego's person, he seemed fully resolved, in case he could not do it, to make away with him, and seize on all his effects.

DON Diego had stopt in one of the Guarani reductions, where he received a letter from the king, expressing the greatest satisfaction at his conduct in general, and particularly approving such parts of it, as had been accounted crimes in the informations drawn up against him. As he wished to render this piece public, he thought proper to add to it a copy of his new commission, attested by a notary, and for this purpose repaired to Corrientes, where, as being within the government of Rio de la Plata, he imagined he should have nothing to fear from his enemies. But Antequera no sooner heard of his being there, than he dispatched two barks full of soldiers under the command of his trusty Ramon de les Llanas, with orders to carry off Don Diego; reckoning the

the more on the success of this enterprize, as he had a good correspondence at Corrientes.

Ramon, on his arrival at Corrientes, immediately gave out, that he had dispatches of the last importance for Don Diego; and Don Diego, therefore, impatient to know what resolution they had come to at the Assumption in regard to the viceroy's orders, made no difficulty of admitting him to his apartment. Accordingly Ramon repaired there late in the evening of the 28th of August, but took care to be followed by thirty men well armed, who, by favour of the night, made their way to the room where Ramon was conversing with Don Diego, carried him off without resistance, seized upon all his papers, hurried him on board as they found him, in his night-gown, and, by rowing as hard as they could, soon arrived at the Assumption, where Antequera immediately ordered him not only to be shut up in a dungeon closed with an iron grate, but to be fastened by a great chain, which, bearing upon his chest, scarce gave him liberty to breathe. He then gave him into the charge of those who were most concerned not to let him escape, with Ramon at their head, who often hindered his victuals to be brought him, and permitted his guards to offer him all the insults they thought proper.

The news of these violences was received at Buenos Ayres with equal surprize and indignation. In the mean time, the magistrates of Corrientes did not wait for their governor's orders to do what became them on this occasion; they sent one of their brethren to the Assumption, to complain of Don Diego's being carried off from a city, which did not depend on the province of Paraguay, and require his being set at liberty. But this deputy, happening to be one of the prisoner's secret enemies, acquitted himself of his commission like one who had not the success of it greatly at heart. Antequera, on his side, having

 answered

answered the letter written to him by the magistrates of Corrientes with the greatest haughtiness, they sent his answer, with the judicial confirmations concerning the carrying off of Don Diego, to the viceroy.

The inhabitants of the Assumption were now in the greatest impatience to know what Antequera would do with his prisoner; but he did not think proper to take any resolution in regard to him, or at least to make it known, till he should receive an answer to a letter which he had written to the Royal Audience of las Charcas to justify the late proceedings; and, no answer coming, his adherents attributed the silence of that tribunal to the intrigues of the Jesuits; and, therefore, wrote to Don Pedro Faxardo, bishop of Buenos Ayres, a letter like that which they wrote to him two years before, and of which he gave his majesty an account in that which we have already related. To this letter they added a printed manifesto of Don Bernardin de Cardenas against the Jesuits, and a memorial of brother Villalon, his agent at Madrid, not knowing, it is probable, that these two pieces had been rejected with scorn by the royal council of the Indies, and stigmatized by the holy office, as stuffed with evident and bare-faced calumnies. They likewise represented Don Diego, in their letter, as the worst of men; exclaimed against the injustice of the tribunals of Peru, who opposed the good intentions of Don Joseph de Antequera, on whom they lavished the most magnificent encomiums. They concluded by enveighing against the Reduction Indians, whom they represented as so many wild beasts, led by pastors who were enemies to all lawful authority.

But, as they could entertain no hopes of being able to change Don Pedro Faxardo's opinion of these matters, they, after publishing their letter to him, addressed the king by a manifesto, dated the 10th of November,

November, in the names of all the members of the secular chapter of the Assumption, in which, after summing up the most violent charges that were ever brought in writing against the Jesuits, they beseeched his majesty not to consider the informations he might receive from the bishop of Buenos Ayres, but as the effects of his blind prevention in favour of these religious. After this, speaking of the governors of Paraguay who had preceded Don Joseph de Antequera, they were not afraid to affirm, that most of them had violated all the laws, pillaged the royal treasure, and oppressed the people; that Don Joseph de Antequera was, in a manner, the only one, who had shewed himself worthy to fill that important station; and most capable, by his zeal, his prudence, and his disinterestedness, to indemnify this unhappy province for the losses it had suffered, and the evils it had endured. They finished by conjuring his majesty, not to give them any other governor; to expel the Jesuits from the reductions; to give up seven of these reductions to the inhabitants to be held in command; and appropriate the rest to the service of the capital, which was greatly in want of them. This manifesto soon spread over Paraguay, and the neighbouring provinces; but it is very uncertain whether or no it was ever presented to his majesty, or his council of the Indies.

In the mean time, Don Balthazar Garcia Ros had no sooner received advice of what had lately happened in Paraguay, than he hastened his departure for that province. On his arrival at Corrientes, he wrote a letter to the secular chapter in general, and others to Antequera, and the ruling Alcaldes and Regidors in particular, to give them notice of his commission. But Antequera, instead of paying any regard to this notice, again represented to the inhabitants of the Assumption, what they had to apprehend from the arrival of this commandant and his troops; took

notice to them, that, as the orders given them by the royal audience of les Charcas, not to make any alteration in the government of the province, were ſtill in full force, ſince that ſovereign court had never recalled them, they could not be ſafe in receiving Don Balthazar, whoſe commiſſion had not been regiſtered by it.

However, as he did not care to leave any room for imputing to him the refuſal he thus ſuggeſted, he inſiſted on its being referred to the deliberation of a general aſſembly, but not till it had been reſolved in his private council, that, when he acquainted the aſſembly with the reaſons of their being called together, he ſhould be requeſted to withdraw, in order to leave all the members at liberty to ſpeak their mind freely. This aſſembly was appointed for the 13th of December; and orders were, accordingly, ſent to the proviſor of the biſhopric, the ſuperiors of all the religious orders, and all thoſe who had a place in the civil or eccleſiaſtick chapters, to meet on that day at the town-houſe, and at a certain hour. But it is very probable, that none of the clergy appeared there.

Don Joſeph de Antequera opened the aſſembly by a very ſtudied diſcourſe, in which he affected a great deal of indifference to retain or abdicate the government; which they had, he ſaid, obliged him to accept. He then deſired every one preſent to ſpeak his mind freely, without any favour or affection to him; as he was very ready to ſacrifice his intereſts to the good of the publick, having nothing more at heart than the ſervice of God and the king, and the welfare of the province. He inſiſted greatly on this laſt article, and repreſented in a few words the inconveniencies of every reſolution they could take. As ſoon as he had finiſhed, Don Antonio Ruez de Arellano, firſt alcalde, begged of him, as it had been previouſly concerted, to withdraw, and he immediatly complied.

The alferez royal, Don Denis de Otazu, whom they could only ſuſpend from the functions of his employment, was the firſt to ſpeak. He ſaid, he could not ſee how it was poſſible for them, either in intereſt or duty, to refuſe obedience to the viceroy. But he was the only man to ſay ſo. The reſt, to a man, voted againſt receiving any governor or commandant but him who at preſent acted as ſuch, till they had made moſt humble repreſentations to the viceroy, and had beſeeched his excellency, if he inſiſted upon ſending another, to chooſe him in the royal audience of Charcas, or at leaſt any where but in the provinces of Tucuman, Rio de la Plata, and Paraguay. When all the members had given their opinion, Don Joſeph was deſired to come in again. On his entering the room, he threw his commandant's ſtaff on the floor; but they conjured him to take it up again, till the governor had given him ſuch a ſucceſſor as they had reſolved to aſk him.

After this, all thoſe, who had received letters from Don Balthazar, anſwered them, and gave him to underſtand, that his arrival at Corrientes with troops had occaſioned a general conſternation all over the province; and that, in the preſent poſture of affairs, it would be impoſſible to receive him, without expoſing it to the greateſt misfortunes, and ſuch as could not but be very prejudicial to his majeſty's ſervice; that they begged him to ſend them a copy of the diſpatches which he had received from the viceroy, that when they wrote to his excellency, they might be able to explain themſelves properly: in fine, that, to give the ſtorm, with which they were threatened, time to diſperſe, it was proper he ſhould defer entering the province. Antequera wrote him pretty much in the ſame ſtrain. All theſe letters were dated the 26th of December.

Don Balthazar received them, just as he
1724. was preparing to pass the Tebiquari; and he
1729. immediately replied, that he was coming to the Assumption, there to explain, in person, the viceroy's orders, and be more precisely informed what they had to object to them. Those, therefore, who had written to him already, wrote to him again the third of January 1724; and their letter was signed by the Alcaldes lately elected for the current year. They added to this letter the deliberations of the three councils, that had been held on this affair; and a summons, in the name of Don Joseph de Antequera, to leave the province in case he had already entered it, on pain of the fine mentioned in the decree of the royal audience of Charcas dated the 3d of March of the preceding year.

The packet containing these papers was delivered to Don Balthazar by Captain Gonzalo Ferreira Alcalde of the Holy Hermandad, at the head of one hundred men, well armed. Upon this, Don Diego, who, not being very well escorted did not think proper to have any difference with people, whom he saw disposed to keep no longer any measures with him, thought proper to return to Buenos Ayres. However, lest the rebels should take it into their heads to attempt making themselves masters of the reductions on the Parana, he resolved to take them in his way in order to re-inforce those which were most exposed, by some detachments from the rest. But Father de la Rocca, Provincial of the Jesuits, who happened at this time to be visiting them, begged him to consider, that Don Joseph de Antequera would turn the least preparations of war made by the Jesuits, into a pretext for driving them out of their college; and even give them up to the Guaycurus, if their Indians should take up arms against him.

During these transactions, Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, Camp Marshal of his Catholic Majesty's forces,

forces, and Governor of Rio de la Plata, who probably made no doubt of Don Balthazar's being actually at the head of the Province of Paraguay, had sent there for assistance against the Portuguese, who threatened the port of Monte Video, the only fort the Spaniards retained on the Eastern banks of the River, since Philip V. had, in consequence of the treaty of Utrecht, ceded the colony of the Blessed Sacrament to the King of Portugal. The court of Lisbon pretended, that, in virtue of this cession, all the coast, from the ancient limits of Brazil to the colony of the Blessed Sacrament, was to be considered as part of Brazil itself: But the court of Madrid, not allowing this pretension to be just, ordered the governor of Rio de la Plata to fortify Monte Video, in order to secure the navigation of the river. The fortifications of this post were not as yet, however, enough advanced to leave nothing to fear from the Portuguese, who were coming in great numbers to attack it.

Antequera thought this a favourable opportunity to get rid of all those he suspected, and shewing at the same time, a great deal of zeal for the King's service. He dispatched a considerable detachment to Buenos Ayres; and, lest it should be imagined that this detachment had weakened his forces, he affected to give out that he had still five thousand good troops, ready to maintain him in his government; and that he could muster a great deal more to make himself at any time master of the reductions on the Parana.

This enterprise against the Parana reductions was now become the only topick at the Assumption. The hopes of coming in for a share of these Indians, in the distribution that was to be made of them, added daily new recruits to Antequera's party; some ecclesiasticks, and even some religious, not blushing to pay their court to the Usurper, by blaming the conduct of the Pastors of these reductions, in order to benefit

benefit by the ruin of them. I have not been able to discover, if the auxiliary troops sent by Antequera arrived time enough to have a share in the deliverance of Monte Video; but it is certain, that, so early as the month of January of this year, a great number of the reduction Indians were employed on the fortifications of that place, and continued to work on them till they were finished. The following is a letter, which Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala wrote to his Majesty concerning them, from Buenos Ayres, the 28th of the same month.

"SIRE,

I must assure your Majesty, that, as often as there has been a necessity for employing the Tapez Indians, who are under the conduct of the Fathers of the company, either in the field, or on the fortifications of places, I always found in those who governed them a surprizing readiness, and a most ardent zeal, to serve your Majesty. A considerable number of these Indians are actually employed on the works carrying on at Monte Video; and they push them on with diligence and spirit, which those alone, who have seen them, can have any idea of; and that without any other salary but the coarse provisions which are daily distributed amongst them.

I AM far from exaggerating, when I speak to Your Majesty; yet I dare assure you, that, without the assistance of these Indians, the fortifications undertaken at Monte Video, and on the citadel of this place, could never have been completed, the soldiers, Spanish workmen and labourers, and the Indians of the neighbourhood, who work by the day, not being able to support the fatigue for any length of time. The last are pretty punctual for the first three or four days; but, that term expired, they require being paid before hand. But, whether they get money or no,

who, they often leave their work, and are no longer to be found. An averſion to labour and reſtraint are ſo rooted in them, that it is impoſſible to get any good of them.

THERE is an infinite difference between theſe ſluggiſh Indians, and thoſe governed by the miſſionaries of the company. It is impoſſible to expreſs, with what docility and conſtancy the latter obey all the orders they receive for your Majeſty's ſervice. They never give the leaſt cauſe of murmur or complaint; never fail to repair punctually to their work at the hours appointed; and, beſides, edify all thoſe who ſee them by their piety, and the regularity of their conduct, which, next to God, can only be attributed to the wiſdom of thoſe who govern them. Accordingly, I have been often aſſured by the biſhop of this city, that he never viſited them in their own habitations without being charmed with the devotion of the inhabitants of both ſexes, and with their dexterity in all handicraft works.

THOUGH ſome evil-minded perſons make it their buſineſs, through jealouſy or other motives, to decry the zeal and the moſt pure intentions of a company, which every where renders ſuch great ſervices, and particularly in America, they never will be able to cloud the truth of theſe facts, of which an infinite number of perſons are witneſſes; what I tell your Majeſty of theſe fathers, is not with a view of crying them up, but in order to give you a faithful account, ſuch as you have a right to expect from a loyal ſubject; and to put you upon your guard againſt the falſe impreſſions, which ſome artful and malicious perſons might attempt to make upon you, by renewing the complaints and accuſations which your Majeſty has ſo often deſpiſed.

I MUST further acquaint your Majeſty, that the Indians of the three towns formed in the neighbour-

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hood of this city, would be much more happy, if those charged with the government of them followed the method traced out by the Fathers of the Company in their missions. These three towns are not very populous; yet the curates, the corregidors and the alcaldes of them are constantly at variance; and it is no easy matter to find priests willing to take care of them; as the great number of those, who have deserted these parishes, disgusts almost all the ecclesiasticks I should choose to place over them. It is merely, Sire, to satisfy one of my principal obligations, that I here expose the important services of the Tapez Indians *, who are under the care of the Jesuits, with whose zealous attachment to your service, your Majesty is well acquainted. I make no doubt but you will give them proofs of your royal clemency and bounty. For my part, I shall never cease to offer my prayers for the preservation of your Majesty, which is so essential to the welfare of Christendom. Buenos Ayres, the 28th of May, 1724, D. Bruno Maurice de Zavala'.

Don Bruno had lately received a letter from the viceroy, dated the eleventh of January, by which his excellency invested him with all his authority, to re-establish order and subordination in the province of Paraguay. But, as his presence when he received these dispatches, was still requisite at Buenos Ayres; and Don Balthazar Garcia Ros arrived there in the mean time, he charged him, in virtue of a power given him for that purpose, with the commission, which he himself could not execute; and ordered him to set out as soon as possible for the Assumption. The Coadjutor of the bishoprick of Paraguay, lately arrived from Peru, thought proper to take advantage of this

* I have already taken notice that this name is often given to all the Indians of the Uraguay reductions, though the Tapez make but part of them.

opportunity

opportunity to get to the diocese, with which he had been entrusted.

THIS Prelate, whose name was Don Joseph Palos, is to act in this history a part so worthy of his character, that I think it requisite to make the reader well acquainted with him, before I bring him into action. I shall say nothing of him, but on the testimony of Don Joseph de Peralta, of the order of St. Dominick, bishop of Buenos Ayres, and appointed, a little before his death, to the see of La Paz, one of the most illustrious prelates who ever appeared in this part of the world. Don Joseph Palos was born at Morilla in the kingdom of Valencia; and entered very young into the order of St. Francis, in which he taught philosophy and divinity with great applause, acquitted himself with honour of the most important employments, and governed almost all the considerable convents, of his order, in Spain; he then passed over to Mexico, and from thence into several provinces of South America, where he was charged with affairs of the greatest consequence. At last, he obtained leave to retire into one of the Indian reductions, which the Fathers of St. Francis then governed, in the mountains called *El Cerro de la Sal*, where, entirely taken up with the salvation of souls and his own sanctification, and without ever dreaming of his being known at the court of Spain, he was very much surprised to hear, that the King had named him titulary bishop of *Tatillum* in Mauritania, and coadjutor of the Assumption of Paraguay, whose bishop was detained in Spain by such habitual infirmities, as never permitted him to see his diocese.

DON Joseph's zeal to re-establish subordination and order in a province, which he found revolted against all authority both human and divine; and the success, which crowned his immense labours for that purpose, induced the King to offer him a see much more considerable

conſiderable than that of Paraguay. But he beſeeched his Majeſty to let him die in his church, which was become to him a ſpouſe of blood; and he, in fact, died there very poor, on Good Friday of the year 1738; after ſpending all his revenues in relieving the neceſſitous, and enriching and embelliſhing his cathedral, which he had found ſtript of every thing to a moſt ſcandalous degree.

1723. THE firſt news he heard, on his arrival at
1729. Buenos Ayres from Peru, where he had been conſecrated, was, that Don Balthazar Garcia Ros was making preparations to bring the Paraguay rebels to reaſon by force, if fair means ſhould be found ineffectual. Don Balthazar was very deſirous, that the prelate ſhould accompany him; but Don Joſeph Palos thought it did not become a biſhop to take poſſeſſion of his church, as of a garriſon. He even took pains to make Don Maurice de Zavala defer his military proceedings, till he had brought words of peace to his flock, as became a good ſhepherd. But the governor having anſwered him, that it was as much as his head was worth to delay ever ſo little the execution of the viceroy's orders, he thought proper not to accompany Don Balthazar further than the reduction of Kings, being the neareſt to Buenos Ayres, where they arrived the 20th of June.

FROM thence Don Balthazar wrote to Father Thomas de Roſa, ſuperior general of the reductions, to chuſe him out two thouſand Indians, and order matters ſo, that he ſhould find them before him on the Tebiquari completely armed and accoutred, and with ammunition and proviſions for two months. He ſent orders by the ſame courier to Don Jerom Fernandez, the King's lieutenant at Corrientes, to hold two hundred Spaniards in readineſs to march on the firſt notice. He reckoned, beſides, on the militia of

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La Villa and the Holy Ghost; but an epidemical disease, which raged in these two little towns, hindered them from furnishing him with more than fifty men, who joined him in spite of all the threats employed by Antequera to prevent it. Several other Spaniards repaired to his colours, most of them inhabitants of the Assumption, who had stolen out of it privately, in order to avoid the violences of the heads of the rebellion.

Don Balthazar, on his arrival at the Tebiquari, found there the two thousand Indians he had sent for; and the night of the 5th of August quietly crossed the river at their head; Ramon de las Llanas, who was posted on the other side with two hundred men, not daring to make the least opposition. But having retreated to a farm house, at no great distance, he made a stand there, and sent to summon Don Balthazar, in the name of Antequera, and in virtue of the decree of the Royal Audience of Charcas of the 28th of March, 1723, to leave the province of Paraguay. The general having received this summons with the contempt it deserved, Ramon immediatly sent to the Assumption an account of what had happened, and for orders how to proceed for the future. 1724. 1729.

On his messenger's arrival, Antequera ordered a great gun to be fired, being the signal appointed for the troops to assemble by. Then, finding that the inhabitants were in no great hurry to take up arms, he gave out, that he had received a letter from Don Balthazar, in which he threatened, in case they made the least resistance, to reduce the Assumption to ashes, put all the men in it to the sword, and deliver the women to the Indians of the reductions, according to the promise he had given the Jesuits. He had since the assurance to repeat the same falsehood in a letter written by him from his prison at Lima to the coad-

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jutor of Paraguay; as likewise in an apologetic memorial, which he caused to be printed, and in which he cited two persons (who have since contradicted him) as having assured him of these being Don Balthazar's intentions. This trick, however, which should have naturally engaged all the inhabitants to receive Don Balthazar, had a contrary effect, as Antequera had taken care to make sure of the principal men, and the corporation. As to what he added concerning the Jesuits, he had his own views in saying it. It was necessary to render them odious, in order to insure success to a project, which he had been a long time thinking of, and which we shall speedily see him carry into execution.

The readiness of the inhabitants to take up arms, on the report of these designs against them, greatly exceeded his hopes. The fear of being confounded with the rebels engaged the most moderate in the rebellion, and even those who had hitherto persisted in their loyalty, so as to give Antequera grounds to hope, that he might be able to make head against Don Balthazar. A day, therefore, was appointed for taking the field and marching up to him; and that very day there appeared an edict, purporting that, by the advice of the Regidors, the Alcaldes, and all the secular Chapter, the Jesuits should leave the city in three hours. Short as this warning was, it appeared too long to some, who were for battering down the church and college of these fathers, in case they did not immediately retire. But Antequera did not choose to take their advice.

The Jesuits were no sooner served with this edict, than their Rector waited on him in presence of all the secular Chapter, who were still assembled in his apartments; produced the letters patent they had obtained for the erection of their college, and several Royal Schedules forbidding them to be deprived of it with-

out

out express orders from his majesty; but he would neither see nor hear any thing. The Rector, however, made two other attempts; but they only served to produce new summonses to retire before the term mentioned in the edict was expired, Antequera pretending, that he had answered, beforehand, all the Jesuits could say in their favour; by alledging in his edict, that they disturbed the peace of the province; that they were the persons who had called Don Balthazar to ravage it with fire and sword; and that the king had given express orders to expel all ecclesiasticks and religious, who should attempt to disturb the public peace.

Upon this, the troops were immediately drawn up in the great square. At the sight of them, Don Anthony Gonzalez de Guzman, vicar general of the diocese, and curate of the cathedral, who happened to be present at the second summons with which the Jesuits had been served, went to withdraw the blessed sacrament from their church, and carried it to his own, all the Jesuits following him, two by two, with lighted tapers in their hands. They had scarce entered their college, when they were served by a third summons, backed by threats of burying them all under its ruins, in case they continued in it any longer. They, therefore, immediately left it, without taking any thing with them, but their crucifixes and their breviaries; and thus traversed part of the city amidst a croud of people gathered to see so uncommon a sight, most of whom they had the comfort to see express, by their tears and their sighs, the sincerest sorrow for being obliged to part with them.

These Fathers first repaired to a farm they had at a small distance from the city, and remained there two days. Don Alfonso Delgadillo came here to visit them; and assured them, that, had he been at the Assumption the day they were driven out of it, he would

have prevented the violence that had been offered them; adding, that they would do well to commit to his care, whatever things they could not take away with them, which he assured them nobody should touch. He went still farther; for, he signed the attestation of the chapter of the cathedral, which we shall presently make mention of. The rector, therefore, accepted his offers with thanks; but had soon reason to wish he had not, as Delgadillo, on the farm's being put under his care, behaved like a man sent there by Antequera to plunder it.

FROM hence the Jesuits were obliged to make the best of their way, by bye-roads, to the nearest reductions on the Parana. When they had travelled about twenty leagues, Father Restivo, their rector, wrote to the dean and chapter of the cathedral, to beg them to send him their attestation concerning the violent manner in which he and his brethren had been treated, in order to serve them, as a judicial proof of their innocence. This the dean not only readily granted; but he afterwards sent another of the same date to the viceroy.

WHAT is remarkable, these two attestations were signed by some of the very regidors, who had before signed the edict of banishment against the Jesuits; but who, afterwards, on coming to themselves, retracted their signature; asked pardon of these religious, and absolution of the censures, which they thought they had incurred by acting against them as they had done, urging the necessity they were under of doing it, for fear of being entirely ruined, as in fact they would have been, had they refused to do whatever was required of them.

MEAN while, Antequera, thinking himself quite sure of the capital, now that he had driven the Jesuits out of it, set out the same day, being the seventh of August, with his troops, for the frontiers, after giving orders

orders to the officer, whom he had entrusted with the government of the city during his absence, to cause Don Diego de los Reyes to be strangled publickly upon a scaffold, in case he heard of his being defeated, and not permit any of his relations to survive; and, lest this officer should relent, he took good securities for his obedience. He, likewise, took good measures to make his escape, in case of need, to La Plata or Brazil. His army consisted of Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, and a mixed race descended from them, to the amount of about three thousand men, so that it was one of the most numerous that had ever been raised in this province. All the Spaniards capable of bearing arms were ordered to repair to it, on pain of losing their effects, and being corporally punished as traitors to their country; notwithstanding which, a great many had courage enough to absent themselves.

As soon as he joined his troops, he harangued them; and his whole harangue consisted of declamations against Don Balthazar, the Jesuits, and their Indians. He concluded by promising the Spaniards to distribute among them, when the war was over, every thing they could find in the colleges, out of which he had not permitted any thing to be removed; every thing they might find in the enemy's camp, and in the reductions on the Parana, of which he made no doubt of being able to make himself master, when he declared that the Indians of them should be distributed among the officers and the principal families of the Assumption. His troops listened to him with great attention; and, when he had finished his discourse, made the air ring again with their shouts and acclamations. He then, though it was already night, put his army in motion again; and, as he took no pains to make his men observe any discipline, they

every where committed ravages, that can ſcarce be credited.

The Alguaſil Major, Don John de Mena, the officer on whom Antequera could beſt depend, had remained at the capital. Antequera had recommended to him, above all things, not to poſtpone the execution of the ſentence paſſed upon Don Diego de los Reyes; and, indeed, it was not Mena's fault, that this ſentence was not immediately executed. Nay, he was not aſhamed to inſtruct the executioner how he ſhould go about it. But the Serjeant Major, Don Sebaſtian Ruis de Arrellano, who commanded in the city, would not permit the execution, till he had received freſh orders from Antequera, to whom he wrote, that it was his opinion not to proceed too haſtily in ſo delicate affair. This letter made Antequera make ſome reflections, which he was greatly ſurpriſed had not ſooner occurred to him; and he, accordingly, ſent word to the Alguaſil Major not to act with too much precipitation. Don Balthazar having, on Antequera's arrival within ſight of his camp, perceived a white flag in the firſt troop that appeared, imagined that it came to join him; but he ſoon diſcovered his miſtake. He then, therefore, ſent an officer to Antequera's army to notify his commiſſion, and the viceroy's orders; but Antequera cauſed the meſſenger to be put under arreſt before he could execute his commiſſion. The next moment he gave orders for a general diſcharge of his artillery, which, however, inſtead of doing any miſchief, made Don Balthazar ſenſible, by the manner in which it was ſerved, that it could not incommode him much. Don Balthazar then thought proper to give a ſpecimen of his artillery; and Antequera formed the ſame judgment of it. Indeed, it was a mere bravado on both ſides. Antequera's deſign, in advancing ſo near Don Balthazar, was to attack the Indians, whom he hoped to be

be able to surprize. But, finding that they were advantageously posted, he fell back a league; fortified his camp; and disposed his cannon in such a manner, that it was impossible to approach him on any side without being exposed to it. This done, he gave Don Balthazar's messenger leave to return, desiring him to tell his general, that he was not come with his army to read papers, but to decide by battle the differences between them.

He then received advice, that Don Joseph Armendaris, Marquis of Castel Fuerté, was arrived at Lima in quality of viceroy of Peru, and he expressed great joy at it. It was impossible this joy should have been real, had he been acquainted with the real character of this nobleman. But then, on the other hand, it would have been dangerous for him to show any uneasiness at his promotion. He already began to apprehend so much more opposition from his enemy, than suited with the present posture of his affairs, that he formed a design of causing him to be assassinated, nor was he long without finding a man capable of so black a crime. A trooper came and offered him his service for that purpose, in case he would but give him a good horse to make his escape when he had struck the blow; and Antequera took him at his word.

This miscreant, on his arrival in Don Balthazar's camp, gave out, that he was come to surrender to the general; and added, that he had even some very important matters to communicate to him. Accordingly, he was permitted to pass. Before he entered the general's quarters, he placed his horse in such a manner, that he might easily leap on him after doing the business; but this very precaution made his attempt miscarry. A soldier seeing a man, whom he did not know, and who left his horse ready saddled at the door, go in to the general, began to suspect some bad

deſign in it, took away the horſe, and put another in his place. The aſſaſſin, after a few moments converſation, thought proper to examine if his horſe was ſtill where he had left him; and, ſeeing he had been changed, and that the horſe left in his place had neither bridle nor ſaddle, immediately concluded, that he began to be ſuſpected; withdrew without making any noiſe, and ſoon diſappeared. Don Balthazar, at firſt, looked upon the ſuſpicions of this man as ill founded; but he ſoon received certain intelligence of the danger he had been expoſed to. However, ſtrange as it may appear, he never called into queſtion the falſe advice given him by this pretended deſerter.

This fellow had aſſured him, that there were in Antequera's army ſeveral officers as well as ſoldiers, very well affected to what he called the King's ſervice; and moſt of whom, in caſe an action happened, would certainly take part with him.

This advice, however, he had the more reaſon to believe, from what he knew of the ſentiments of moſt of the inhabitants of the province, while he was governor of it. But ſtill, had it been ſo, he was not ſtrong enough to riſk a battle. He had not as yet been joined by the detachment, which he had ordered the commandant of Corrientes to ſend him. His army conſiſted but of a few Spaniards, and the two thouſand reduction Indians, who, as I have already obſerved, ſtand in need, when they have regular troops to deal with, of ſome officers who have ſeen fire, to make them keep their ranks, and fight in good order. Beſides, theſe Indians, ſeeing no probability of the two armies coming very ſpeedily to blows, often quitted their poſts without any notice being taken of it, in order to bathe themſelves in the river; and, had Antequera been inſtructed of this circumſtance, he would no doubt have made the

the proper use of so fine an opportunity to attack his enemy. But another soon offered, and he took care not to lose it.

The Indians, naturally strangers to jealousy, seeing the security of the Spaniards, began soon to imagine, that neither of the two generals had any mind to come to blows; accustomed themselves to leave the camp in small parties; and, finding that no one took it amiss of them, their curiosity insensibly led them to draw near the enemy's camp. Antequera, who perceived it, forbid his troops to attack them, upon which some of them were bold enough to enter it, when the general, on their being brought before him, treated them with a great appearance of kindness. He was too well acquainted with their attachment to his Majesty, to attempt their loyalty; besides, he wanted to draw over a greater number of them; and to do it took the following method.

He began by telling them, that he was at least as dutiful a subject of the King of Spain, as those who were come to attack him; and, to convince them of it, informed them, that he was preparing to make great rejoicings in his camp on the 25th of the current month, being his Majesty's birth day, and that of St. Lewis, whose name his Majesty bore, and from whom he was descended *. He then exhorted them, to make some in theirs; and even gave them a plan for that purpose, which, on leaving him, they were fully resolved to carry into execution; however, they thought proper first to see these of Antequera; and for that purpose, they all of them flocked to the neighbourhood of his camp on the day appointed.

Antequera, seeing them give into this snare, let them come on very quietly, till he judged them at too

* It was impossible the people in Paraguay should as yet have heard of that Prince's death.

great a diſtance from their camp to be able to eſcape back to it. He then advanced ſlowly upon them at the head of a body of horſe. This the Indians taking for the overture of the rejoicing he had ſpoke to them of, they innocently continued to draw near, till, when they leaſt ſuſpected it, his cavalry fell upon them ſword in hand; ſeveral of them however made ſome reſiſtance, and others ran back to the camp to give notice of what had happened. Upon this, Don Balthazar immediately threw himſelf on horſeback with all thoſe he could collect. The firſt thing he endeavoured, was to rally the Indians behind his entrenchments, but it was now too late to do it.

Upon this, he rode up towards the enemy, crying out, *Long live the King*, and imagining, that his preſence, joined to the viceroy's orders, which he held up in his hand, might make ſome impreſſion on the Spaniards by whom he had been greatly beloved; and, indeed ſeveral of them ſeemed willing to retire, but they were hurried on by the greater number; and all fell furiouſly upon the Indians, of whom they made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter. Don Balthazar, upon this, being adviſed to provide for his own ſafety, was obliged to do it with ſo much precipitation, that he left every thing behind him, even his papers. The firſt place he reached was the reduction of St. Ignatius, where he arrived without any company but his chaplain. From thence he repaired to Corrientes, where he embarked for Buenos Ayres.

Three hundred Indians, who had rallied with ſome Spaniſh officers, held out for a long time with great bravery, though rather with a view of ſelling their lives dearly, than any hopes of ſaving them. However one of Antequera's ordered the retreat to be ſounded, out of mere compaſſion to ſo many brave fellows. This finiſhed the unhappy day, in which, after all, but three hundred Indians and two Spaniards

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of Don Balthazar's troops lost their lives. But the camp-master Don Luke Melgarejo, and another officer were mortally wounded and made prisoners. The rebels had but twenty-five men killed; and of those only two were Spaniards; but the number of their wounded was pretty considerable.

The following days were spent in hunting out the Indians that had taken refuge in the woods; and as many of them as could be found were cruelly butchered. The few, who were not killed outright, were afterwards dispatched by those who came to strip them. It must be owned, however, that none but Mulattoes, and persons of that cast, carried their inhumanity to that excess. The Spaniards no longer thought of any thing but making prisoners, and they made a great many. Of this number were two Jesuits who had followed their Neophytes. One of them was Father Polycarpus Duso, aged seventy seven, and the other Father Anthony de Ribera. They were both conducted to the Assumption, where Father de Ribera had resided several years, and had several opportunities of speaking to Don Joseph de Antequera.

They both guessed, that those, into whose hands they had fallen, would not fail to pay their court to the general at their expence; and they were, in fact, treated by them with great cruelty and contempt. But what they little expected was, that, though they were drest in their usual habit, Antequera affected not to believe that they were really Jesuits; and, when he sent them, under a strong escort, prisoners to the Assumption, he wrote to the great vicar Don Anthony Gonzalez de Guzman, to examine if they were really priests and religious; and, in case they were not, to deliver them up to the commandant of the city, to be punished as they deserved; but he added, that, whoever they might appear to be, they should not be permitted to enter the college.

The Grand Vicar, who had known them for a long time, did all that lay in his power to make them amends for the ill treatment they had received on the road. However, to keep fair with Antequera, he caused a judicial information to be taken of their condition; and then not only permitted them to say mass in a church near his house, where he kept them as long as they remained in the city; but, recollecting that some persons had endeavoured to persuade the people that they could not assist at their Mass without incurring an excommunication, on account of their having been found in an army that made war against his Majesty, he publickly declared the contrary; upon which they soon began to perceive, that the inhabitants were no way displeased to see them again.

The accounts spread at the same time of the ill treatment they had received on the road, but which they themselves never mentioned, gave every one the highest opinion of their virtue. On the road by which they were conducted to the Assumption, there is a chapel of the Blessed Virgin. One of the guards, pretending to salute it, levelled his piece at Father Dufo; but, on some of his comrades perceiving what he was about, and stopping him, he fired it into the air, saying "It is in honour of the mother of God I am going to fire this shot, since you are not satisfied it should be for that old Jesuit, for whom I intended it." But his villainy soon met its reward. The musket, burst in his hand, which immediately mortified; and he died of the mortification in a few days.

The conquerors brought one hundred and fifty Indians with them to the Assumption; and had been very liberal of injuries and blows to them on the road. While they were preparing to celebrate their triumph, which these poor creatures were intended to grace, they kept them in a manner without any food, and almost naked under the open air, and that

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in very bad weather, so that they must have all perished, had not some poor women privately assisted them. At length, they were made over, in quality of slaves, to those who had expressed most zeal for the service of the ruling party; and we may well imagine, that their masters treated them so much the worse, as they could not expect to keep them long, and, accordingly, there died great numbers of them.

ANTEQUERA took care not to forget himself in distributing the spoil found in the Spanish camp. The books, which the two Jesuits had brought with them, and every thing belonging to Don Balthazar, were laid aside for him. He had, above all things, recommended, that all papers should be given up to him; and having cast his eyes on a letter written by Father Restivo to Don Balthazar, he immediately snatched it up to read it, hoping he might find something in it to justify his behaviour towards the Jesuits. But he was greatly surprised to find nothing in it but exhortations to peace, and to prefer gentle to violent measures, in so much that he could not help saying to those about him: *We have been in too great a hurry to drive these Religious out of their college.*

AFTER all, how much soever Antequera was surprised not to find what he expected in Father Restivo's letter, he was no less stunned to find by it, that the new Viceroy had given orders to send him prisoner to Lima.

HE made no difficulty, however, to shew it to some of his most intimate confidants; but he told them, at the same time, that he was now more firmly resolved, than ever, to maintain himself, at all events, in his government; that he intended to make himself master of the four reductions that lay nearest to the Parana, and drive the inhabitants out of them, for having dared to take up arms against him. The Camp-master general, Don Sebastian Fernandez Montiel,

Montiel, and some others, did all that lay in their power to dissuade him from this design; but, the greatest number having approved it, he resolved to carry it into execution. The only precaution he took, and which he never omitted in affairs of great consequence, was to do nothing but at the requisition of his Council. For this purpose, therefore, he caused a memorial to be presented to him, in the name of the Province, requesting him to repair to the reductions, and submit part of the inhabitants to the service of such private persons as deserved to be gratified with them, and the rest to that of the public.

In this Antequera had two views; the first was to strip the Neophytes of the fire arms, of which, considering the present posture of affairs in Paraguay, the superior tribunals at this time judged it more necessary than ever to leave them the use; and the second to drive the Jesuits out of them, as in that case he knew the Indians would infallibly disperse.

Accordingly, on the first notice, which the Indians of the reductions, he intended to seize, received of his approach, they all dispersed; some fled to the reductions where they had nothing to fear from him, and some into the woods and mountains; and they fled with so much precipitation, that several died of fatigue, and some women with child miscarried on the road, through faintness and fear. On Antequera's approach to Sainte-Foi, Father Felix de Villa Garcia, the pastor of it, came out to meet him, in hopes of prevailing on him not to push his resentment any further, but was received by him in a very haughty manner. However, his great modesty, and his character for every other virtue, made some impression on Antequera, and at length drew some civilities from him which the Father did not expect.

Ramon de las Llanas arrived at Santa Fe, soon after, from La Villa, to which place Antequera had

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sent him to see executed the Camp-master who commanded there, called Don Theodosius de Vilalba, whom he had condemned to death. This unhappy man had been taken in his way to join Don Balthazar with the militia of his town; and Antequera had, besides, found proofs of his loyalty to his sovereign in the letters and among the papers of that general. The cruel Ramon made him expiate this pretended crime in the most barbarous manner. He kept him a whole night tied by the legs to a post, loaded him with the bitterest reproaches, and otherwise insulted him in the cruellest manner; all which Vilalba suffered with a truly Christian patience. Nay, he refused him a confessor, which he called for with great earnestness, desiring him to make an act of contrition and confess himself to God; as likewise leave to make out in writing an account of some debts he had contracted, and which he was desirous of having discharged. To crown his barbarity, he made what haste he could to get him shot, for fear Antequera should countermand his execution, as he had already done that of some other officers. In fact, it was not without some concern that Antequera heard of Vilalba's death; and he, accordingly, did all that lay in his power to prevent its being known that he had condemned him. But his not reprimanding Ramon for having put him to death, was enough to let the world see, that this unfortunate man had been murdered by his directions.

In the mean time, the flight of the Indians belonging to the four abandoned reductions had greatly disconcerted his projects, though it was only by putting it out of his power to keep the promise he had made his soldiers, of giving up to them all the plunder they could get in them. But what concerned him most was, his not being able to distribute among his officers and the principal inhabitants of the Assumption the

the Indians themselves, which he had promised them. Accordingly, the first murmured so loudly at this disappointment, that he began to be very much afraid they would abandon his party. Upon this, the Camp-master Fernandez de Montiel laboured hard to engage him not to proceed any further, or touch the houses of the fugitive Indians; and though his advice was ill received, and the general's flatterers were of opinion to strip him of his employment, he dared not, in the present posture of his affairs, to do it, lest he should make an enemy of a man, who was greatly esteemed by the whole army.

He even came to a resolution to feign, at least, an inclination to regain the Neophytes; and therefore treated with some gentleness those, who had remained with their pastor. Several of the rest had taken post on a mountain in the neighbourhood of Sainte-Foi, where he was not in a condition to force them. He, therefore, sent to let them know that he had no thoughts of molesting them; and that all he required of them was to acknowledge him for their governor. But his protestations would have been lost upon men, who had but too many proofs of his insincerity, if Father de Villa Garcia, fearing he might have recourse to violent measures, had not engaged a hundred families to return. The general received them pretty well; gave them several new regulations in writing; deposed the ruling officers; and named others, who, however, never thought proper to act as such.

From Sainte-Foi he repaired to Saint Rose, where Father Francis Roblez received him, as Father de Villa Garcia had done at Sainte Foi. The first thing he said to Father Roblez was, that he expected the Neophytes should pay all the expences or charges of the war, in which they had the rashness to engage. The Father answered, that he would not oppose their

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doing so; but that they must first be condemned to it by a judge named by his Majesty himself, whose vassals and tributaries they were. He then took notice to him, that, before he could expect any thing from them, it was absolutely requisite they should all be re-united in their respective towns; and that they would never return to them, till they had received sufficient assurances of their not being molested there for the future: "for, my Lord, added he, how can you expect, that these Indians, who can scarce procure by the sweat of their brow enough to maintain themselves and their families, and pay their tribute, should find wherewith to satisfy your demands, while the fear of your resentment keeps them at a distance from home, and puts it out of their power to cultivate their lands?".

THIS unexpected answer perplexed Antequera so much, that he was for some time without making any reply. At last, he told the Father, that he would give the Neophytes some time to satisfy his demands; and, a few moments after, to the great surprize of every one present, he took a sudden resolution to march back to the Assumption. He even set out the day following, without staying to take any thing along with him. But the surprize, which this precipitate retreat had occasioned, vanished the evening of the next day, on its being known, that five thousand Indians were marching to the assistance of their brethren. Don Balthazar, it seems, had sent for them before his defeat, in order to reinforce his army; and they, hearing on the road of the misfortune that had happened to him and their brethren, flattered themselves with being able to deliver them from their slavery, and were arrived, with that view, within twelve leagues of St. Rose. Antequera judged, that, with the few troops he had to stand by him, he could not avoid being carried off, if he waited for them;

them; and this was the reaſon he retreated ſo ſuddenly, as he did not know, that the miſſionaries who accompanied them, and who thought he lay at a greater diſtance, had made them turn back.

As yet Antequera's ſoldiers had done no great damage to the Indians. But, when they found themſelves obliged to leave with empty hands thoſe places in which they had flattered themſelves with being able to make their fortunes, they vented their reſentment on the plantations in the country, and every where left marks of their fury, from which the reductions did not recover for a long time. The moſt grievous loſs was that of their black cattle and horſes, which fed in the meadows without any one to take care of them; the panick, and want of foreſight, of which it had not as yet been poſſible to cure the Indians, having prevented their driving them to a place of ſafety.

Antequera, on his arrival at the Aſſumption, found every thing in readineſs to receive him as a conqueror; but the inhabitants muſt have bluſhed at theſe preparations, when they came to know that his return was no better than a flight. Triumphal arches had been erected in all the ſtreets through which he was to paſs; and, among the trophies with which theſe arches were adorned, appeared the colours taken in the battle on the banks of the Tebiquari. This was to triumph moſt unworthily over his maſter. But what incenſed thoſe, who ſtill retained ſome reſpect for their ſovereign, was to ſee a ſoldier, who headed the proceſſion, carry a ſtandard bearing the King's arms, and ſeem to take pleaſure in trailing it through the dirt. The triumpher, after paſſing on horſeback through the principal ſtreets of the city, and feeding his vanity with the acclamations of a giddy miſguided multitude, repaired to the cathedral, where he entered at the ſound of all the bells, and ordered thanks to be rendered to God for a victory, at which he

he should blush; and the colours to be displayed, which were the ensigns of his rebellion.

Never, perhaps, did there appear a more universal joy in the capital of Paraguay; but all the inhabitants did not rejoice on the same account. The King's most faithful subjects, especially the friends and relations of Don Diego de Ros Reyes, who were no strangers to the vanity of his enemy, flattered themselves, that he would not drown acclamations of joy by tears and lamentations; and looked upon this victory, which they detested in the main, as a means of security to the captive governor. They imagined, that the man, who had ordered him to be put to death in case he was defeated, could content himself with having put it out of his power to hurt him, and would not venture, by making away with him, to render irreconcileable a great number of persons, among whom there might possibly be some one or another, daring enough to revenge his death; nor were they disappointed in their hopes.

The next day, this triumphal pomp gave way to a funeral solemnity, which equally flattered the conqueror's vanity. He ordered a solemn service to be performed for the souls of those, who had been killed in fighting for him; and the clergy were forced to obey. But we may well believe, that the priest, when he offered the sacrifice for those who could receive benefit from it, had more an eye to those, who had lost their lives in serving their King, than those, who had fallen in fighting against him. This so ill timed act of religion was soon followed by an act of rigour, which only served to disgrace the conqueror in the eyes of all honest men; for, it could no way contribute to strengthen his authority. He caused the wives and daughters of the inhabitants of La Villa to be shut up in a castle, from whence they were not

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released, but in consequence of the reiterated entreaties of the Coadjutor.

We have seen, that this prelate did not think proper to appear at the Assumption, till he had heard in what manner the King's orders were received there, and the issue of Don Balthazar's expedition. He stopt in the reductions; visited several of them; and administered the sacrament of confirmation to a great number of Neophytes. He was still exercising these holy functions, when he received an account of the expulsion of the Jesuits; of Antequera's march, at the head of an army; of the King's army being defeated, and the flight of its general. He then thought he could no longer defer visiting his church. Accordingly Antequera, on his return to the Assumption was informed, that the Coadjutor was making the best of his way to it, through bye, and almost impassable, roads.

As soon as Antequera heard of the Coadjutor's drawing near the city, he went to meet him with the corporation, as far as a plantation two leagues from the capital; and this their first interview was attended with a deal of politeness on both sides. The whole company remained here two days; and then, on the third, conducted their new prelate to the Assumption, where he was received with all the honours that were due to his character. On his side, he omitted nothing, during the following days, to gain the confidence of all ranks and parties; and, in a letter which he wrote some time after to the King, he acquainted his Majesty, that he was labouring to acquire a perfect knowledge of every thing that had happened in the province since the first beginning of the troubles, with which it was agitated; but that he did it with a great deal of secrecy and circumspection, as well in order not to expose those to whom he addressed himself for

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that purpose, as not to give the heads of the rebellion any room to take umbrage at him; that he even avoided letting the latter know what he thought of their behaviour, except on those occasions in which his duty obliged him to be free with them; and that even then he did it with all the delicacy and moderation his character required.

What contributed most to convince him of the necessity there was for proceeding in this cautious manner, was his discovering the means employed to engage in the revolt even those who abhorred it most. So early as the ninth of September, the Camp-Master-General, Don Martin de Chavarri, had waited on the Viceroy General, and protested against all the signatures, which Antequera had extorted from him by the most terrible menaces; and it appears by this instrument, that all the edicts we have spoken of, were published merely in consequence of memorials composed by Antequera himself, and which, after forcing all those in place to sign them, he caused to be presented to him in their names.

The Regidor Don John Cavallero de Anasco, who had, for a long time, resisted his violences, and did not yield till he had suffered a cruel imprisonment, and had seen himself on the point of being stripped of all he was worth, was equally impatient to present a petition to the Coadjutor to be absolved from the censures, which he was afraid he had incurred by signing, contrary to the dictates of his conscience, though against his will, all the instruments that had authorized Antequera in his enterprizes against the superior tribunals, the King's service, and the immunities of the church. The particulars, into which he enters on the occasion, prove to what lengths Antequera carried his tyranny. However, the submission of these two officers gave the Coadjutor reason to hope, that the evil was not incurable.

The affair he had moſt at heart, was the re-eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits in their college; but he judged the obſtacle, which he foreſaw would be made to it, too great to attempt it at preſent. He even thought it too ſoon to proceed, by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, againſt thoſe, who had infringed the eccleſiaſtical immunities of the church, and inſulted the prerogative of the ſovereign, by contributing to the expulſion of theſe religious. This is what he wrote to his Majeſty the ſecond of October, when he ſent him the informations he had procured concerning the manner in which the Jeſuits had been expelled, and the diſpoſitions of Antequera and his principal adherents in regard to himſelf.

" Their obſtinacy, ſays he, is ſo great in this reſpect, that it is impoſſible for reaſon, truth, or juſtice to overcome it. There is no making them open their eyes to the deſolation, or their ears to the groans, of the greateſt number of the inhabitants of this city and of the whole province, who, through the abſence of theſe fathers, are equally deſtitute of ſpiritual and temporal aſſiſtance; not to mention, that their good example and their inſtructions, in a city where there prevails the greateſt corruption of manners, were almoſt the biſhop's only reſource to procure food for his flock, and his only comfort.

I advance nothing, ſire, but what I am thoroughly acquainted with. I have ſeen, with my own eyes, how things are conducted in their Miſſions. I know, that in this capital they were to be met every where, in the ſtreets and in the ſquares, waging a continual and implacable war againſt vice. I know they have no enemies, but thoſe, with whoſe wicked courſes their zeal for the ſalvation of ſouls happens to interfere; and who have not been able to do in their Miſſions, what they every day do in the Indian pariſhes

pariſhes ſerved by eccleſiaſticks, and by the religious of my order. The inhabitants of theſe pariſhes are in command; and, as their encommandroes are no longer ſo, than the governor pleaſes; and cannot, therefore, be ſure of poſſeſſing them for any length of time, they oppreſs them with ſuch uninterrupted labours, that the poor wretches often paſs whole years without hearing maſs, or acquitting themſelves of the other duties which the church has enjoined her children. Nay, when they obtain ſome relaxation for that purpoſe, and are permitted to take a turn home, they cannot, even then, take any advantage of it for their ſalvation, as the governors employ them in the public works; whence it likewiſe happens, that, as they can ſcarce ever work for themſelves and their families, they often come to want the common neceſſaries of life, with which their maſters never ſupply them.

Now, thanks to the piety of your Majeſty and your auguſt predeceſſors, it is not in the power of the governors, and ſtill leſs in that of private perſons, to treat in this manner the Indians under the conduct of the Father of the company; and it is for this reaſon, that there breathes among them ſuch an odour of ſanctity, and there reigns that perfect innocence of manners, of which I have already given your Majeſty an account. This is the reaſon, why the temples they have erected to the Lord are ſo well adorned, and all the exerciſes of religion practiſed with ſo much punctuality and ſplendour; for their Neophytes employ that way all the fruits of their labours, of which they and their paſtors have not themſelves an indiſpenſable call; of which I thought it my duty to give your Majeſty this teſtimony."

Don Joseph wrote afterwards to the royal audience of Charcas, to complain of all the violences exerciſed by Antequera; and added to his letter one he had

received, before his arrival at the Aſſumption, from Father John de Garai, Prior of the Dominican Convent in that capital, with his anſwer to it. However, though Don Joſeph had hitherto done nothing but juſt labour to extinguiſh the fire of rebellion, and had made no uſe of his authority but when he could not avoid it, without betraying his duty or the important truſt repoſed in him, it was not long before it began to appear, how uſeful his preſence was at the Aſſumption. The people, awed by that reſpect which his virtue and his character inſpired, ſoon ſeemed to put on their former air of docility and ſubordination, which had diſappeared from amongſt them for ſo many years. Accordingly, the heads of the rebellion were alarmed at this alteration; and, therefore, to diſturb a calm whoſe conſequences they dreaded, omitted nothing to perſuade the multitude, that the Jeſuits were forming ſome deſigns againſt the city. But the Coadjutor, who perceived that theſe reports began to cauſe ſome uneaſineſs, took great pains to refute them; and at laſt effected it.

Upon this, the heads of the rebellion did all that lay in their power to prejudice himſelf againſt them. Every day gave birth to ſome new calumny, and every calumny made a great impreſſion on the people; even facts, whoſe falſehood had been publickly acknowledged, left in certain minds ſuch ſeeds of prejudice as were not to be extirpated; and diſpoſed them to give credit to new impoſtures; few perſons enjoying that tranquillity of mind requiſite to diſcern the motives, from which ſome perſons ſpoke as they did. Happily, the firſt machine employed to prepoſſeſs the Biſhop againſt theſe Fathers ſerved only to let him ſee, what thoſe were capable of who had contrived it; and put him more on his guard againſt every thing that came from them.

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Soon after his arrival at the Assumption, the wife of Don Alphonso Gonzalez de Gusman came in deep mourning, and all bathed in tears, to throw herself at his feet, and beseech him to oblige the Jesuits to indemnify her for the loss of her husband, assassinated, she said, by the Indians of the reduction of Sainte Foi, as he was going through that town with dispatches to his Lordship from his brother-in-law, then Vicar General and Provisor of the Diocese. The missionaries, she added, had hid his body; but some Spaniards had just discovered it; and others had seen, in a farm belonging to these Fathers, the horse upon which the deceased had set out from the Assumption. The Prelate omitted nothing to comfort her, and promised to see justice done her. But, at the very time this fable made the greatest noise, the inhabitants were greatly surprised to see Gusman arrive in good health; and he himself was surprised still more to find his wife in mourning for him.

In the midst of these transactions in Paraguay, there arrived some news there, which soon engrossed the thoughts of all the inhabitants. The first thing the new viceroy did, on his arrival at Lima, was to find out sure and speedy methods to re-establish order and subordination in that province; and, as though he had foreseen the ill success of the expedition made by Don Balthazar Garcia Ros, he had, five weeks before his defeat, dispatched a courier to Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, with orders to repair, in person, to the Assumption, with sufficient forces to reduce the rebels; send him Don Joseph de Antequera under a strong escort; and, till his further will could be known, establish in that province such a governor, as the present circumstances required.

He charged the same courier with a letter for Father de Rocca, Provincial of the Jesuits, by which he prayed and enjoined him to send to the governor of

Rio de la Plata as many Indian soldiers as he might call upon them for; and they were sent him, accordingly, with the greatest diligence. Don Bruno used equal diligence to execute the orders which he had received. But, while he was making preparations for his expedition, he thought proper to give notice of his commission to Don Joseph de Antequera, and the secular chapter of the Assumption, and likewise of the permission given him by his excellency, to pardon all those who should return, with a good grace, to their duty. He, at the same time, wrote to the Coadjutor, to acquaint him with the measures he was taking for the pacification of the province; and the Prelate, the moment he received it, sent it by his secretary to Antequera, who was already deliberating with his secret council on the contents of that addressed to himself.

The viceroy's promise had made some impression on several of the most guilty; but the excesses they had been guilty of since the date of his letter inspired them with more terror, than his promises did with hopes. In particular, they could not prevail upon themselves to believe, that this Lord would ever forgive them the expulsion of the Jesuits. As they, therefore, could not bring themselves to take any fixt resolution, they sent Don Ramon de las Llanas to the Coadjutor, and charged him to do all that lay in his power to gain that prelate over to their party. Ramon, who suspected nothing, and judged of others by himself, had the assurance to make the Prelate so strange a proposal. But the bishop received it in such a manner as plainly shewed how much he resented it.

Don Joseph Palos, after treating him with all the indignation so much impudence deserved, spoke to him with so much goodness, and, at the same time, so much force, on the depth of the abyss which he

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and his accomplices were digging out under their feet, that, on his report, all or most of those who had deputed him, after the Coadjutor had removed some difficulties which still prevented them, expressed a sincere resolution to submit. The two ruling Regidors, Don Anthony Ruez de Arrellano, and Don Joseph de Urrunaga, the most guilty of the rebels, and two of the first authors of all the mischief, promised an entire obedience to the viceroy's orders, whatever party Antequera might take; and made this promise on both knees at the feet of the Coadjutor, who took them up, embraced them with great tenderness, bathed them with his tears, and gave them all the assurance of pardon they could wish for.

THIS step of the two officers, who, next to Don Joseph de Avalos, had the most contributed to the misfortunes of Don Diego de los Reyes, greatly chagrined Antequera. For several days together, he did nothing but endeavour to keep up the spirits of his party, by promising effectually to prevent the governor of Rio de la Plata being received in the city. But the bishop had much better success in his endeavours to disconcert all his intrigues; so that, fearing to be abandoned by all his adherents, he, after a long conference with the Prelate, gave him his word, that he would submit to every thing the superior tribunals should require of him. He even wrote to Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, that he might come to the Assumption as soon as he thought proper; and that not only he should be received there without any opposition, but in a manner he should have all the reason in the world to be satisfied with. The whole corporation made the same protestation in a common letter. Arrellano and Montiel, not satisfied with having signed along with the rest, wrote letters, in their own particular names, in which they protested, that, if they yielded to part of what had been

done contrary to law, it was in order to be the better able to serve his Majesty.

There are certain conjunctures, in which it is but prudent to pretend, at least, to believe such criminals innocent, as might still do a great deal of mischief if their submission was refused; just as it is often proper to leave an opening for an enemy that seems desirous to retire, when despair might furnish him with strength enough to make those who had pushed him to extremities repent their imprudence. But then great wisdom is requisite, not to be mistaken on such occasions, and know who one has to deal with. Don Bruno, who was uprightness itself, was thus deceived, by not being able to persuade himself, that those he had to deal with sought only to lay a snare for him. Accordingly, he declared publickly, on the strength of the letter received on the road from the two Regidors, that he did not doubt of their innocence; for he afterwards discovered, though a little too late, that he had been in too great a hurry to believe them in earnest.

He did not, indeed, judge so favourably of Antequera's submission, as he was better acquainted with him; and knew very well, that, if he promised to receive him at the Assumption, it was because he saw himself on the point of being abandoned by most of his adherents, and, therefore, despaired of being able to prevent it. In fact, Antequera soon laid aside all his fears; for, having taken notice to the officers of the city, that the orders which the viceroy had addressed to the governor of Rio de la Plata had not passed by the channel of the royal audience of Charcas, the impression, which this reflection appeared to make on them, determined him not to pay any regard to the promises fear had extorted from him.

The better to engage his adherents not to desert him, he took particular pains to persuade them, that

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Don Bruno would never forgive their having caused Don Diego to be carried off from a town within his government, nor their having driven from the Assumption the Jesuits, whose panegyrist the governor on all occasions publickly declared himself; that they were still more in the wrong to rely on the promises of the Coadjutor, who was no less devoted to these religious, and whose whole conduct tended to ruin those who had a hand in their expulsion; but he found it impossible to banish the fears of most of those whom the bishop had detached from him. He then attempted to call a general assembly, as he had done in regard to Don Balthazar's march; but the Regidors, Don Martin de Chavarri, and Don John Cavallero de Anasco, assisted by Arrellano and Urrunaga, found means to prevent it.

As he, therefore, could no longer reckon upon all those whom he thought he had engaged beyond a possibility of retreating, he turned all his attention to the army, with so much the stronger hopes of success, as Ramon de las Llanas had already answered for the inviolable attachment of the Alguazil Major, Don John de Mena, his son-in-law, of the serjeant major, Don Joachim Ortizz de Zaraté, and another officer called Fernand de Curtido. But the Regidors, Cavallero de Anasco, and Martin de Chavarri, supported by Arrellano and Montiel, had been beforehand with him, so that not an officer ventured to declare himself. The only thing he could do, in these disagreeable circumstances, was to invent some new method to alarm the people. He, therefore, caused a report to be spread, that two armies of Guaranis and Charuas, headed by Jesuits, were preparing to make an irruption into the province. Though this was a most improbable story, an universal terror immediately seized the minds of the populace. But the Coadjutor having obliged him to send out some detachments to scour the country, at the same time that he

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sent himself some persons, upon whom he could depend, on the same errand; the return of both one and the other, without seeing any thing, immediately dissipated all their apprehensions.

Antequera was so enraged to see this new contrivance of his defeated, that he fell into the greatest fury against the two Regidors, whom he every where found in his way; and who, in conjunction with the Coadjutor, broke all his measures. He had some thoughts of sending them to prison, and making them pay the fine of ten thousand crowns for having disobeyed the edict of the royal audience of Charcas, of which we have so often seen him avail himself. But this party was too strong; and he had, besides, too much to fear from the Coadjutor, to attempt such a coup d'eclat. He, therefore, resolved to close in with these two officers, the better to influence the election of Alcaldes, which was now on the point of being made for the year 1725. He accordingly contrived matters so well, as to make the choice fall on Ramon de las Llanas, and Joachim Ortez de Zaraté, the two men he could most depend upon.

BOOK

BOOK XI.

Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala arrives at Corrientes. New intrigues of Antequera; baffled by the Coadjutor. Antequera embarks on the Paraguay. Don Bruno arrives at the Assumption; enlarges Don Diego; names Don Martin de Borua governor of Paraguay; and then returns to Buenos Ayres. Coadjutor's letter to the King. The rebellion breaks out again. Bold action of Antequera. The King appoints Don Barthelmi de Aldunate governor of Paraguay. Don Barthelmi's project for altering the government of the reductions. He loses the government. King orders the Jesuits to be re-established at the Assumption, and puts the Parana reductions under the government of Rio de La Plata. Jesuits re-established. Behaviour of Antequera at Corduba. Viceroy gives orders for taking him dead or alive. He escapes and gets to La Plata. Arrested there, and sent under a strong guard to Lima; allowed great liberty there, and makes a very bad use of it. King orders him to be tried, and the sentence on him executed at Lima. A Commissary at the Assumption. Don Ignatius Soroeta named governor of Paraguay. A new faction there, under the name of Commune; *insult the new governor on his arrival; oblige him to leave the Capital; endeavour to get his papers into their hands. The Coadjutor returns. Violences of the Commune. The government new modelled into a Junto. The Oracle of it arrested, and sent prisoner to Buenos Ayres; escapes into Brazil. New troubles at the Assumption. The President of the Junto takes refuge in the reductions. New attempts against the Jesuits. The Coadjutor returns to the Assumption. Rebels endeavour to get themselves authorised by the Royal Audience of Charcas. The return of Don Ignatius de Soroeta to Lima hastens the proceedings against Antequera. Sentence against him*

him and Don John de Mena, another rebel. Behaviour of Antequera on its being read to him. Retracts all he had said against the Jesuits, and calls for one of them to confess him. Tumult at Lima, occasioned by his sentence. He is shot to death, by the viceroy's orders, in his way to the place of execution, to prevent an escape; and then beheaded on the scaffold. Don John de Mena beheaded likewise.

1725.
1729.

DON BRUNO Maurice de Zavala was still at Buenos Ayres, where some pressing affairs had detained him longer than he expected, so that he could not set out till the beginning of January, 1725; nor could he take out of it above fifty soldiers. In his way through Santafe, he engaged an officer, called Don Martin de Borua, a native of Barcelona, to follow him; and even then, resolved to confer on him the government of Paraguay, according to the power he had received for that purpose from the viceroy, when he should have pacified that province. He afterwards received several informations during his march, that Antequera was making preparations to dispute the passage of the Tebequari; and, though he gave no credit to them, he, notwithstanding, thought proper to order two hundred of the militia to hold themselves in readiness to reinforce him. Six thousand Indians had been raised by his orders in the reductions; but he did not think proper they should set out to join, till he had sent for him.

As soon as the news of his arrival at Corrientes reached the Assumption, Antequera, seconded by the two new Alcaldes, at length found means to persuade several persons, that Don Bruno considered the inhabitants of the capital as a parcel of rebels, since he marched with an army at his heels; and that, to enter the province, he only waited the arrival of several

barks

barks loaded with arms and ammunition: He then engaged the ſecular chapter to preſent a petition to the Coadjutor, to beg of him to perſuade the governor not to enter the province in an hoſtile manner. This petition was preſented to the Biſhop by the firſt Alcalde, Don Ramon de las Llanas, who put all theſe ſprings in motion at the inſtigation of Antequera; for Antequera himſelf pretended not to intermeddle in any thing; waiting to take his party, as circumſtances might require. His deſign was, in caſe Don Bruno approached the Aſſumption with an army; to diſpute all the paſſes with him, on pretence that the inhabitants of this city did not deſerve to be treated as enemies; and then, in caſe he diſbanded his troops, to act otherwiſe as he found it his intereſt.

The Coadjutor anſwered Ramon, that he was greatly aſtoniſhed at the proceedings of thoſe who had deputed him, as they thereby gave juſt grounds to ſuſpect, that they harboured ſentiments not conſiſtent with their duty; then, reflecting that, if he abſolutely refuſed to do what was required of him, thoſe that were ill diſpoſed might poſſibly proceed to ſome diſagreeable extremities, he promiſed the Alcalde to employ his good offices to prevail on Don Bruno to enter the town, with no troops but his guard. But, on Ramon's acquainting him with a report ſpread over the province, of the King's having ſent orders very different from thoſe with which the Viceroy had charged the Governor of Rio de La Plata, and that his Majeſty had even annulled his commiſſion, he ſo effectually proved the falſehood of this rumour, as not to leave Ramon any room to reply. The Prelate even brought him to own, that the beſt thing his party could do, in the preſent poſture of affairs, was to ſend and renew to Don Bruno the aſſurances that already

ready had been given to him, of an entire and ſpeedy obedience.

He ſpoke in the ſame ſtrain to thoſe who had deputed Ramon; upon which they immediately wrote to the governor of Rio de La Plata, that he ſhould ſend among them none but faithful ſervants to his Majeſty; and that he himſelf ſhould be received with all the honours due to a perſon of his rank, and one charged with the orders of the Viceroy; but that they beſeeched him to viſit them as a Father; and not as the General of an army ſent to engage an enemy, or chaſtiſe rebels. Don Bruno made anſwer, that, though he did not imagine he ſhould have any occaſion for an army to force his way into the province, he could not help thinking it inconſiſtent with decency to oblige him to ſend back his barks and the detachment that had followed him from Buenos Ayres, eſpecially the barks, as he ſhould want them to return with greater ſafety and expedition to his government, when he had finiſhed the buſineſs which had obliged him to leave it.

Antequera thought he might ward this laſt blow, by propagating a new fable, which he had invented to corroborate that concerning the repeal of Don Bruno's powers. The better to play his game, he publiſhed it piece-meal, on pretence that he did not hear all the particulars of it together. He began by ſaying, that one of his domeſticks was already arrived at Corduba with diſpatches from the Viceroy, which continued him in the Government. Some days after, he told ſome perſons, as a great ſecret, that what obliged the Viceroy to give Don Bruno the powers he had ſent to him, was his diſcovering, that the edicts publiſhed in the name of the late Viceroy had been forged by his Secretary, who was thereupon condemned to loſe his hand. But he gave out publicly, that the Governor of Rio de La Plata was ordered

ordered back to Spain, and another Officer already set out to replace him.

He contrived, that the letters containing all this intelligence should be brought him, as it were, from Santafe by pretended Couriers, and always delivered to him in the presence of a great many persons; and then, on opening them, pretended to be thunderstruck with their contents; and handed them to read to those about him, so that no one harboured the least suspicion of any false play. But then they were his accomplices, whom he deluded in this manner. The guilty seldom call in doubt any thing that flatters them with impunity. It was while Antequera was playing this game, that Don Bruno's answer arrived. Ramon, however, having taken great pains to know from the courier who brought it, if he had not heard at Corrientes something of what they wrote from Santafe, was greatly surprised at his answering, that he heard nothing of it till he got near the Assumption.

Upon this, the Alcalde, calling to mind what the Coadjutor had told him of the reports daily invented to stir up the people, concluded, that those in question sprang from the same source. But he was one of those unhappy men, who deliver themselves up to wickedness through taste, and find no pleasure but in trouble and disorder. Antequera, who knew him, and stood in need of a man like him, willing to co-operate in any measures that should be proposed him, made him put on a military habit; put a Commandant's staff into his hand, and ordered him to visit all the castles in the neighbourhood of the capital, and take the properest measures to hinder Don Bruno from making himself master of them.

Though he had recommended great secrecy to him, the Coadjutor soon got intelligence of his departure, and dispatched Doctor John Fernandez,

 Canon

Canon of the cathedral and pariſh prieſt of Tabati, where moſt of the militia of the province reſided, to engage his pariſhioners, by whom he was greatly beloved, not to obey any orders but thoſe of Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala. This they readily promiſed; ſo that, when Ramon came there a few days after, in order to make the militia take up arms, no one would liſten to him. The Prelate now thought it high time to employ the arms of the church, to contain within the bounds of their duty a people, whom others were daily employing every method they could think of to drive into rebellion. He, therefore, aſſembled his chapter; and, with their advice, publiſhed a mandate, by which he declared, that whoever ſhould excite the leaſt motion tending to hinder the governor of Rio de La Plata from being received in the city, ſhould be deemed excommunicated *ipſo facto*, as a violator of the oath of allegiance, which every ſubject is ſuppoſed to have taken to his ſovereign.

A letter received from Don Bruno a few days after the publication of this mandate, and which was dated the firſt of March, confirmed the falſehood of the reports, that had been ſpread concerning him, and ſtript Antequera of the little credit he had with him. This he immediately perceived; and, therefore, concluding it was high time for him to retire to ſome place of ſafety, he cauſed three chaloupes to be got ready; and ſent on board them forty ſoldiers very well armed. But, before he embarked himſelf, he went to the Camp-maſter Montiel, to perſuade him to follow him. For this purpoſe, he ſhewed him a letter, which he had, he affirmed, juſt received from Santafe, importing, that the revocation of Don Bruno's commiſſion would be the means of ſaving the life of Montiel, whom that General was reſolved to have publickly ſtrangled.

THOUGH

Though Montiel had not altogether approved every part of Antequera's conduct, he had served him well on several occasions; and had even followed him in his expedition against Don Balthazar Garcia Ros. This was a capital crime, and so much more unpardonable in him, than in many others, on account of his employment, that he made slight of the promises given by Don Bruno and the Coadjutor; not sufficiently reflecting, that, by accompanying Antequera in his flight, he excluded himself from the general pardon solemnly promised to all those, who should return to their duty. The Alguazil Major, Don John de Mena, embarked likewise with Antequera. But he had a great deal more reason to be under apprehensions than Montiel. Accordingly, he resolved to follow his General's fortune to the end. We shall see presently what end they, at last, arrived at.

These two men could be so much the more serviceable to Antequera, as he had lately conferred on the first the agency of the militia; and on the second, that of the province; both titles attended with very great authority. Antequera, likewise, engaged several of the Indian towns in the neighbourhood of the Assumption to send him their Alcaldes. His design in this, he said, was to compose, of all these officers, a kind of court of Justice, to watch, he said, over the interests of the Indians, whose protector he was in all the provinces subject to the jurisdiction of the Royal audience of Charcas. But, in fact, it was only to have in them so many hostages for the fidelity of their towns; for, notwithstanding his retreat, he was far from renouncing the government of Paraguay, in which he flattered himself that the Royal audience of Charcas, of which he was a member, could reinstate him.

He even again notified, before his departure, to the ſecular chapters of the Aſſumption, the decree of that ſuperior court, which he had always laid ſo much ſtreſs upon; and, after declaring to them, that by letting Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala enter the province, and receiving a governor of his appointment, they would ſubject themſelves to the penalty mentioned in it, he threatened, with all the weight of his indignation, thoſe, who ſhould refuſe to acknowledge himſelf for their governor. He left ſecret inſtructions with the two ruling Alcaldes, to ſhut up all the avenues of the province againſt Don Bruno; or, if this could not be compaſſed, for throwing ſo many obſtacles in his way, that he ſhould be obliged to return without executing his commiſſion. At length, he embarked the 5th of March, carrying with him two ſlaves, whom he had obliged the Fathers of St. Dominick to ſell him. But, one of them having dropt dead at his feet the moment he got on board the chaloupe, he thought proper to ſend the other back to his old maſters.

Thinking it his duty to ſay ſomething by way of comforting the people, who were gathered in crowds to ſee him go off, he aſſured them, that they ſhould ſoon ſee him triumph over all his enemies, and reinſtated, with honour, in his government by the Viceroy himſelf, whoſe name was abuſed to perſecute him. As ſoon as his veſſel put off, a meſſenger was diſpatched to Don Bruno to give him notice of it, and to acquaint him, that he had given the ſtaff of command to the Alcalde, Don Ramon de las Llanas. Ramon was reſolved to uſe it for the purpoſes for which he had received it; but the Coadjutor, who cauſed him to be watched very narrowly, broke all his meaſures; and even obliged him to carry the ſtaff of command to Don Bruno, who was now drawing near the capital, and entered it the 24th of April.

Don

Don Bruno was for going, the same day, to the prison where Don Diego was confined, in order to take him out of it. But he was advised to defer it a little, in order not to give any umbrage to those, who had declared most openly against that unfortunate gentleman. The second of May, he sent to notify his orders to the corporation, who received them with respect, and unanimously promised to obey them. They even, the better to demonstrate the sincerity of their promise, sent him the last edict of Don Joseph de Antequera, by which he forbid them to let him into the City. Upon this, he concluded, that all the inhabitants were returned to their duty; declared the choice he had made of Don Martin de Barua to govern the province, till the King had named another governor; and went to take Don Diego out of prison, recommending to him, however, by the Coadjutor's advice, not to appear abroad, nor even receive any visits, till he entirely recovered his health, which a fourteen months imprisonment had greatly impaired, and was strong enough to set out for Buenos Ayres. The Prelate judged this precaution requisite to secure the public tranquillity. The officers, whom Antequera had deposed or suspended, were likewise reinstated; the effects of those, who had been fined, were restored to them; and all those, who had retired to the country to avoid the persecution, or the necessity of becoming the accomplices of his criminal proceedings, had notice sent them to return.

Don Bruno was afterwards for raising the fine of four thousand crowns, imposed by the Viceroy upon those, who should openly oppose the execution of his orders. But the Coadjutor prevailed on him to defer it, till his Excellency had answered a letter, which he had written to him in their favour. As Don Bruno, therefore, had now nothing more to do in the province of Paraguay, he set out for Buenos Ayres, after

causing

causing Don Martin de Barua to be received in quality of governor. The Coadjutor made use of this opportunity to inform the King of the happy issue of this important affair; and I think it my duty to insert his letter, though a very long one, as it may serve to prove and clear up what I have said concerning the troubles of this province.

" Sire,

" I have the honour to give your Majesty an " account of the lamentable condition in which I " found this province on my arrival, through the vi- " olences and injustice of the protector of the Indi- " ans of your Royal audience of Chuquisaca *, Don " Joseph de Antequera, named Judge Inquisitor " against the governor of it, and his adherents. " They are such, without exaggeration, as can only " be attributed to men, who have entirely lost " the use of reason, considering the manner in " which they have acted, contrary to all laws both " human and divine, so far as to take up arms against " your Lieutenant, Don Balthazar Garcia Ros; " oppose his signifying the orders of the Viceroy of " these kingdoms; and even destroy his army, of " which they killed eighteen hundred Indians and " several Spaniards; and drive from their college the " religious of the company of Jesus, by erecting a " battery of canon against it and their church, to " beat them both down in case of a resistance.

" The principal author of these sacrilegious and " tyrannical attempts was the said Don Joseph de An- " tequera, who, to maintain himself in the govern- " ment he had usurped, found means to gain several " members of the secular chapter and of the army;

* I have already taken notice, that this was the first name given to La Plata.

" and

" and many of the principal inhabitants of this city,
" by promiſing to give them, in command, the Indi-
" ans of the ſeven reductions under the conduct of
" the fathers of the company; and put theſe Indians
" under the care of ſecular prieſts. In this, Sire,
" he not only had in view to maintain himſelf in the
" government in defiance of the Viceroy's orders;
" but to enrich himſelf in a ſhort time by unlawful
" and tyrannical methods, at the expence of the poor
" inhabitants, as plainly appears by their daily com-
" plaints, and by the incredible treaſures he had
" amaſſed in ſo ſhort a time, as may be ſeen by the
" ſeizure made of them by orders from the ſuperior
" tribunals.

" These ſcandalous diſorders have produced that
" great poverty to which the province is reduced,
" and an almoſt total decay of piety and religion;
" the expulſion of the fathers of the company
" having interrupted the inſtruction of youth, and the
" practice of good works, which theſe fervent miniſ-
" ters of the Lord maintained by word and example.
" The common enemy has made uſe of Don Joſeph
" de Antequera and his accomplices to do all this
" miſchief; and it is what makes me ſo deſirous
" that the ſighs, I cannot help ſending forth in the
" bitterneſs of my ſoul, may reach the ears of your Ma-
" jeſty, that you may put a ſtop to the cauſes of them.

" The means employed by Don Joſeph de Ante-
" quera to expel theſe fathers were the moſt iniqui-
" tous, that the moſt malicious paſſion could ſuggeſt.
" They conſiſted of depoſitions ſtuffed with lies and
" calumnies againſt them and the Indians, who
" live under their conduct in virtue of the decrees of
" your Majeſty and your auguſt anceſtors; and
" theſe lies and calumnies were ſupported by forge-
" ries, againſt which ſeveral of thoſe whoſe hands
" had been counterfeited have already complained.

" All this is further proved by the very members of " the ſecular clergy, who had co-operated in this iniquity, and who are to be referred to your Majeſty " in your Royal and ſupreme council of the Indies, " and the ſuperior tribunal of theſe kingdoms; and, " though it is no new thing, to ſee depoſitions, full " of fictions ſpring up in this unhappy province, " depoſitions, whoſe authors were afterwards convicted by the Miniſters, whom your Majeſty's " auguſt anceſtors ſent to examine into the truth of " them, nobody ever carried their boldneſs [illegible] " height as Don Joſeph de Antequera and his adherents, in their imputations againſt apoſtolical men, " who never ſpare themſelves on any occaſion, in " which the glory of God, Your Majeſty's ſervice, or " the welfare of your ſubjects are concerned.

" It is enough, Sire, to ſay, that Don Joſeph de " Antequera and thoſe of his faction have boaſted, " that they had nothing in view but the ſervice of " your Majeſty, which, according to them, requires, " that the Indians ſhould have none but ſecular prieſts " to their paſtors, and ſhould, likewiſe, be given in " command to the inhabitants of this city, to be employed, not only in the trade of the herb of Paraguay at half profit, and in the cultivation of their " [illegible] even as ſlaves. They added, that it " was requiſite to increaſe their tribute, to oblige " them to pay tithes; and hinder them from carrying the herb to Santafe, as they have hitherto done; " in virtue of the orders of the Catholick Kings, in " order to have wherewith to pay their tribute, " which they have hitherto punctually done. Now, " in regard to all theſe points, I can affirm, with the " greateſt regard to that ſincerity, from which I " ſhould never deviate conſidering the character with " which I am inveſted, eſpecially in an affair of ſo " much importance, that, if thoſe who hold this language

" guage had undertaken the total deſtruction of all
" theſe doctrines, and of the miſſions of the moſt
" flouriſhing Chriſtianity, and the moſt uſeful to
" your Majeſty, of any you have in America, they
" could not have choſen a ſurer method to effect it.
" In fact, I know for certain, that if the Indian
" towns under the ſpiritual direction of ſecular Prieſts,
" or thoſe even of my own order, are entirely ruined;
" that, if they are depopulated to ſuch a degree, that
" nothing is to be ſeen in them but poor widows,
" whoſe huſbands have periſhed under the exceſſive
" labours with which their encommanderoes had op-
" preſſed them; that, if the married women in them
" are whole years without ſeeing their huſbands; it
" muſt be all attributed to the cuſtom of giving them
" in command. For it may be truly affirmed, that
" ſuch is the hard fate of all the Indians given in
" command, that they muſt pay to their encomman-
" deroes the half of the herb of Paraguay and all the
" other articles they gather. It is this, that has, in a
" manner, turned their towns into deſerts; and, to be
" convinced of it, we need only compare their pre-
" ſent condition, with what it was under the firſt
" encommanderoes. It is, at preſent, a difficult
" matter to reckon them by tens in towns, where
" they were formerly to be reckoned by hundreds.

" Secondly, it is evident, that to oblige the Indians
" of the Reductions to pay tithes, which I have been
" moſt earneſtly ſolicited to make them do, would be
" a great obſtacle to their preſervation and encreaſe.
" The proof I have of it is, that thoſe directed by ſe-
" cular prieſts and the religious of St. Francis have ne-
" ver paid them; and that their towns, notwithſtand-
" ing, are depopulated to the degree I have men-
" tioned. I add, that it would be dangerous to make
" their yoke heavier, becauſe, with all their induſtry,
" and all the zeal and œconomy of their paſtors, the
" moſt

“ moſt they can do is to pay the tribute impoſed on “ them. Nothing can be more frivolous, than what “ has been hitherto advanced to ſupport the contrary “ opinion, which is entirely founded on a paſſion “ for growing rich.

“ As to the propoſal made for hindering thoſe “ Indians to carry to Buenos Ayres, or Santafe, “ twelve thouſand arrobes of the herb of Paraguay, “ it proceeds merely from the bad will of ſome “ inhabitants of this city; and I prove it by two “ reaſons. The firſt is, that theſe twelve thouſand “ arrobes do not, in any ſhape, interfere with the “ commerce carried on by the Spaniards, that of Pa- “ raguay being of a much dearer kind than what is “ gathered in the Reductions. The ſecond is, that “ theſe Indians could neither pay their tribute, nor “ buy wine for their altars, ornaments for their “ churches, iron or other things which they cannot “ do without, were they hindered from ſelling that “ quantity. As to the reſt, their churches are as “ ſpacious, as handſome, and as well adorned, as the “ cathedrals of Peru; I ſay of Peru, for I found “ thoſe of the Aſſumption and the ornaments “ belonging to them ſo naſty, that I was obliged to “ [illegible] the latter. But then I have procured others, “ at my own expence, as rich and as decent, as “ any to be ſeen in Peru.

“ In ſhort, Sire, it is notorious, that what prin- “ cipally induced Don Joſeph de Antequera and thoſe “ of his party to drive the Jeſuits out of their college, “ was not, as they loudly declared, their diſ- “ turbing the publick peace, and behaving trea- “ ſonably towards your Majeſty. All they ſought by “ theſe enormous calumnies, was to put a gloſs, in “ the eyes of the people, on their reſentment againſt “ theſe Fathers, for having ſupplied your lieu- “ tenant, Don Balthazar Garcia Ros, with ſome ar-

“ med

" med Indians, as though it were to diſturb the peace
" of the province and commit treaſon to obey the
" orders of the Viceroy and the Governor of Bue-
" nos Ayres. But theſe accuſations ſerved to faſci-
" nate the eyes of the multitude, and to prevent their
" ſeeing the difference between the lives of thoſe
" paſſionate men, and the lives of theſe holy reli-
" gious, whoſe good examples might have ſerved to
" prevent the enormous exceſſes committed by
" them.

" It is likewiſe true, that Don Joſeph de Ante-
" quera found a great number of the inhabitants of
" the city ſufficiently diſpoſed to ſecond him, as
" they inherited from their anceſtors a great averſion
" to the Jeſuits, for having oppoſed their endeavours
" to ſubmit to perſonal ſervice ſo many thouſand
" Indians, whom theſe Fathers had converted to our
" holy religion, knowing in what manner they treat-
" ed thoſe in command; that is to ſay, like ſlaves
" and beaſts of burden. The ardour of their zeal
" could not bear this tyranny. Is is now a hundred
" years, ſince they began to make theſe complaints,
" which have produced ſo many groundleſs de-
" poſitions. The inhabitants of this city have
" been a hundred times forced to acknowledge the
" injuſtice and falſehood of them; and it is time,
" Sire, that your Majeſty ſhould put a ſtop to this
" diſorder, and repreſs the boldneſs of the calum-
" niators, leſt the impunity they have hitherto en-
" joyed ſhould precipitate them into eternal damna-
" tion; it is time you ſhould procure to men truely
" apoſtolick a laſtir g tranquillity; for they have
" not enjoyed any for this century, during which
" they have been ſeveral times dragged before your
" tribunals, and conſtantly taken up in defending
" their innocence, the honour of their company,
" and

"and their poor Indians against the continual per-"secution of the inhabitants of Paraguay.

"I SHALL now drop these odious matters for "more comfortable objects. I give your Majesty "the agreeable news of the pacification of this pro-"vince without bloodshed, by the prudent conduct "of the Governor of Rio de la Plata, Don Bruno "Maurice de Zavala, who, in obedience to the "pressing orders of Don Joseph Armendaris, Mar-"quis of Castel Fuerte, your Viceroy, came here "with sufficient forces for that purpose, having "with him upwards of eight hundred Spaniards, "and about six thousand Indians of the Reductions "under the direction of the Fathers of the company, "who would have sent him a greater number had "they been wanted. But the divine goodness dis-"posed all things with so much sweetness, that Don "Bruno was received without opposition, and met "with no difficulty in executing the Viceroy's orders; "so that there was no occasion to fire so much as a "single musket.

"IT is true, that I had previously exerted myself "to soften these hardened hearts; and was happy "enough to make them sensible of the obedience "they owed to those, who immediately represented "the person of your Majesty. I had, likewise, the "good fortune to oblige Don Joseph de Ante-"quera to retire before Don Bruno's arrival; per-"suaded as I was, that, if he continued in the city, "it would be impossible to re-establish peace with-"out making use of violent methods. I thank the "Lord, as I ought, for such unexpected success; "and I congratulate your Majesty upon it, beseech-"ing the Almighty to prolong your life and increase "your dominions, for the good of Christendom. "At the Assumption of Paraguay, the 25th of May, "1725.

"Brother

"Brother Joseph, Bishop of Tatulium,
"Coadjutor of Paraguay."

THE Royal audience of Charcas had already written to this Prelate concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits, and directed to the Chapter a commission, in form of a Senatus consultum, to re-establish these religious in their college. The Coadjutor, in his answer to this Sovereign court, which is of the same date with his letter to the King, gave them to understand, that their orders, as likewise those of the Viceroy, had been received by all ranks and persons with the greatest respect; notwithstanding which, he did not think it yet time to recall the Jesuits to the Assumption, and that for two reasons. "One, says his Lordship, that it will be first requisite to refute the calumnies invented to eclipse the splendor of so holy and so wise a society, whose worthy members attempts had been made to represent as traitors to his Majesty, disturbers of the publick peace, and authors of the Tebiquary war, as appears by the edicts published against them. The other, that these Fathers have applied for justice, not only to your Lordships, but likewise to the supreme Council of the Indies, and the Sovereign Pontiff; and they are firmly resolved not to re-enter their colleges without a special order from their General. However, I shall acquaint their Provincial with your Lordship's zeal for their re-establishment." In another letter, which he wrote three days after the foregoing, and forwarded in the same packet, he says; "Since I sealed my letter, I received notice from the Secular Chapter, that they had come to a resolution to represent to your Lordships the motives, which determined them not to consent, that I should solicit the Provincial of the Jesuits, as it had before been agreed between us, to send his religious back to their

their college; and I thought it my duty to inform your Lordships of this alteration, &c."

In fact, this peace, upon which the Bishop had congratulated his Catholick Majesty, was no more than a deceitful calm, which was soon followed by a storm a great deal more furious than that which had been allayed. This the Governor of Buenos Ayres suspected something of, before his departure from Paraguay. He even privately acquainted some persons with his suspicions. He expected, perhaps, that the new governor he had appointed would confirm what he had done, by following the instructions he had left him; but he soon found that he had made a bad choice. Every one was surprized that he had said nothing of re-establishing the Jesuits. But, besides his not having any orders for that purpose from the Viceroy, he knew that the Coadjutor had removed the affair to the tribunal of the Royal Audience, which seemed to have it greatly at heart.

In fact, as soon as a first letter written by this Prelate, and dated the first of November of the preceding year, had reached La Plata, the Attorney General Don Pedro Vasquez de Velasco made his report of it to the court, who, on the credit of his conclusions, gave their most positive orders about it. There were, however, some very surprizing things in Don Pedro's report; for he still supposed Don Diego de los Reyes convicted of all the crimes with which his enemies had charged him; considered the deposition of the Curate of Yaguaron as a regular proceeding; and pretended, that Don Joseph de Antequera had a right to confiscate the patrimonial effects of Don Augustin de los Reyes, though these effects had served as a title to procure him Deacon's orders. These are the points answered by the Coadjutor in his letter of the 25th of May, which I have already cited.

It

It is, indeed, very surprizing, that Don Pedro Vasques de Velasco, in the same discourse, in which he speaks of Antequera's revolt and the expulsion of the Jesuits as two unexampled proceedings, which nothing could justify, should not express the least suspicion of his having equally prevaricated in regard to Don Diego, Don Augustin, and the Parish priest of Yaguaron, who was afterwards completely justified. And, indeed, it is very probable, that it was these remains of prejudice in the Royal Audience of Charcas in favour of Antequera, whom they seemed still to consider as having been the lawful governor of Paraguay, that engaged the Viceroy to forbid that tribunal, as we shall presently see he did, to take any farther cognizance of the present affairs of Paraguay.

Nothing, however, can be stronger than the terms made use of in their decree against Antequera in regard to the two articles I have been speaking of, concerning the sinister interpretation he had given to their decree of the thirteenth of March 1723, and the unworthy manner in which he had treated the Fathers de Ribera and Dufo, who had accompanied their Neophytes to the camp of Don Balthazar Garcia Ros; adding, that they were very much surprized he had never informed them of his motives for going these lengths. But Antequera was now no longer at the Assumption to execute their orders, though he procured intelligence of them sooner than he could have done if he had not as yet left it.

The courier, it seems, who was entrusted with them, having heard, in his way through Corduba, that Antequera was in that city, probably without knowing the cause of his having left the Assumption, carried him the packet, though it was not directed to him. Antequera, however, opened it; and, after reading all the papers it contained, and adding to them a letter for his most intimate confidants, 1726 1729

fidants, ſealed it up again. and forwarded it; and there is great reaſon to believe that all the tranſactions we are about to relate, were the effects of the inſtructions he gave them in that letter. It is, at leaſt, certain, that the Coadjutor, to whom the Royal Audience had written to the ſame purport as to the Corporation, after engaging his Chapter to receive the Viceroy's decree, ſent to ſummon the Secular Chapter to conform to it. They promiſed, at firſt, to comply; but two eccleſiaſticks, declared friends of Antequera, intrigued ſo well, that when they came to deliberate regularly on the affair, it was reſolved by a majority of votes to make the ſtrongeſt repreſentations to the Royal Audience. Thus, the authority of this tribunal, of which they had ſo much availed themſelves to refuſe obedience to the orders of the Viceroy, was equally ſlighted, when it could no longer ſerve to countenance their revolt.

THIS behaviour, however, had a very good effect upon the publick. It opened the eyes of a great many perſons, whom means had been found to perſuade, that no ſteps had been taken againſt the Jeſuits but with the conſent of the Royal Audience. But, upon this, the enemies of theſe Fathers, to ſtop the mouths of thoſe who earneſtly called out for their return, bethought themſelves of giving out, that they themſelves abſolutely refuſed to take poſſeſſion of their college again, and that it would be in vain for the ſuperior tribunals to undertake to oblige them to it. Several perſons ſwallowed this bait; and Father de Roca thought it his duty to write to the Viceroy and the Royal Audience, that they were miſinformed. Nay, he waited on the Governor to know, if he had not received ſome diſpatches that concerned him; and to declare, that he ſhould be always ready to do every thing his Excellency might require of him and his brethren.

THOUGH

THOUGH Don Martin made anſwer, that he had received no orders from the Viceroy relating to the Fathers of the company, this ſtep of the Provincial, which he made no myſtery of, greatly diſconcerted thoſe, who affected to ſpread the report we have been ſpeaking of; and their perplexity ſoon increaſed, it being publicly known, that orders were juſt received from the Viceroy, even more preſſing than thoſe of the Royal Audience, to re-eſtabliſh the Jeſuits without any further delay. It is probable, that this nobleman knew nothing of the decree of the Royal Audience, when he ſent off his edict; for it is certain, that he had before that forbid this court to intermeddle in the affairs of Paraguay, as we are informed by his anſwer to Father de la Rocca.

SUCH poſitive orders greatly alarmed the Governor, who had already begun to compoſe memorials againſt the Jeſuits, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; and, without openly ſpeaking his mind, ſufficiently ſhewed how little he intended to ſerve them. This his uneaſineſs, however, was greatly increaſed by a letter, which he ſoon after received from a friend in Peru, informing him, that the Viceroy was in the greateſt paſſion to hear, that, though nobody could be ignorant how much he had at heart the re-eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits at the Aſſumption, and the execution of the orders he had given for that purpoſe, the leaſt regard had not been paid to them; and that his excellency even threatened to puniſh, in an exemplary manner, whoever ſhould oppoſe the execution of them. But Don Martin, perhaps, had already heard, that the King had beſtowed on another the government, of which he had but a proviſional grant; ſo that, having nothing more to fear from the Viceroy, he might reſiſt his orders with impunity; or at leaſt gain time enough to elude them.

ONE

One thing is certain, which is, that, though this nomination of a new Governor by Philip V. did not take place, it kept Don Martin de Barua more than a year longer in suspense concerning his fate; and that he thought he might avail himself of this uncertainty, as well as of the imaginary dread of an insurrection, which he made the most of, not to press the execution of the Viceroy's orders. The Governor named by his Majesty was a Captain of horse of the garrison of Buenos Ayres, called Don Barthelemi Aldunate; a great Projector, who had sent to the Royal Council of the Indies a scheme, upon which he had built the hopes of an immense fortune. He had suffered himself to be intoxicated with a notion of the great riches of the Jesuits of Paraguay, and of their enjoying a sovereign empire over the Indians of the Reductions. He had even ventured to affirm, that he had, at last, discovered their treasures, which hitherto had been so often sought after to no purpose. The confidence, with which he gave these things under his hand, made such an impression upon some persons, who had interest at court, that they procured him the government of Paraguay.

As soon as he received his commission, he wrote to the Royal Council of the Indies, to explain his scheme, which consisted; 1st. In establishing Spanish Corregidors in all the Reductions of the Jesuits, where there were, he said, one hundred and fifty thousand Indians who paid nothing to the King; and to order the Corregidors to raise the tribute on the same footing with that paid by all the Indians of the Jurisdiction of Peru. 2dly. To open to the Spaniards the trade of all the Reductions; in consequence of which, he pretended, that the treasury would receive enough to pay the garrison of Buenos Ayres and all the troops of Chili. 3dly. To establish an office, at the Assumption, for receiving all the goods, which the Indians

Indians should pay by way of tribute, and for forwarding them to Santafe, there to be converted into cash. 4thly. To give strict orders to the Corregidors, to enquire what arrears might be due, which, according to him, amounted to a vast sum; leaving, however, to the Governor a right to decide concerning the report made by the Corregidors.

A Council of the Indies was held on this project, in presence of the King, on the 27th of March 1726; and, on the 21st of May, orders were given by his Majesty, to dispatch royal schedules to the Governors of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, commanding them to recover the arrears of taxes and tributes due by the Indians, each in his own jurisdiction, and conformably to the laws established in all his Peruvian dominions; to enquire, why they had not been already recovered; and to give advice thereof to the Viceroy, who, on his side, was to take care to examine into the truth of the facts; inspect into the behaviour of the Governors in this respect; and enforce the execution of the present decree.

Aldunate was no longer Governor of Paraguay, when these schedules arrived at Buenos Ayres. An ugly scrape he got into in this city, while he was preparing for his journey to the Assumption, afte[illegible]ing him postpone his departure for some time, caused his commission to be repealed. By this means Don Martin de Barua remained in possession of the government of Paraguay, till the King named another Governor; and being still persuaded, that, for the reason we have already mentioned, he might defer the execution of the Viceroy's orders in regard to the re-establishment of the Jesuits, he flattered himself with receiving thanks for not having exposed the Province to a new revolt, by bringing about in too great a hurry, what it was proper to postpone to a more favourable conjuncture.

 It

It is, however, scarce probable, that he should believe, in good earnest, the reports spread by certain persons, that the King had expressed great joy at the defeat of Don Balthazar Garcia Ros, and the expulsion of the Jesuits; and even promised to reward those who had a hand in it. Be that as it will, these reports were soon silenced by the arrival of a royal schedule, enjoining, that the Jesuits should be immediately re-established in that college; and that the Reductions of the Parana should be taken, till further orders, from under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Paraguay, and put under that of the Governor of Rio de la Plata, in like manner with those of the province of Uruguay.

In the mean time, Father de la Rocca took care to inform the Viceroy of his conversation with Don Martin de Barua. The Coadjutor, likewise, wrote to his excellency by the same opportunity, to complain of the new obstacles, which were raised, from day to day, against the re-establishment of the Jesuits; and the Regidors, Don Dennis de Oozatu, Don Andrew Benitez, Don John Cavallero de Anasco, and Don Martin Chavarri, the last of whom was, besides, Camp-master general, backed his lordship's representations. But the opposite party, suspecting what they were about, sent, on their side, new informations to his excellency, all loaded with calumnies against these Religious, in hopes his excellency would, by so much opposition, be, at last, brought to renounce his design in their favour. But they greatly deceived themselves; for, after writing to the Coadjutor and the Regidors to thank them for their zeal, he wrote to Don Martin de Barua in the following terms:

“ At

"At a time when I took it for granted "that the Fathers of the company were in possession of the college of the Assumption, 1727 1729 "from which they were sacrilegiously and violently "driven by Don Joseph de Antequera, I hear that "my orders have not been obeyed; and that, "through the intrigues of four or five private per- "sons, who would cover their resistance with the "honourable pretext of preserving the peace and "[illegible]uillity of the province. But no reasons can "[illegible]mpetition with those for the re-establish- "[illegible] society, which has converted, in these "kingdoms, so great a number of Infidels to the "Catholick Religion, and has been, notwithstand- "ing, so unworthily treated: I, therefore, order "you, that, immediately after the receipt of this "letter, you make every thing ready to re-establish "them with all the distinction which justice requires; "for it is but proper that, these Religious having "been expelled in so publick and scandalous a man- "ner, their return should be attended with all the "circumstances most capable of making a full and "entire reparation to an illustrious company; of in- "spiring the people with the veneration they owe it, "and perfectly restoring its credit.

"You must, therefore, take care to communi- "cate this order to the reverend Father Ignatius "de Ortega, Provincial of the said company; ac- "quaint him with the day appointed for its exe- "cution; give notice of it to the secular Chapter; "and deposite this letter among the archives of "the town house, in order to perpetuate the memo- "ry of it. And, in case any member of the said Chap- "ter should dare oppose these orders, by way of re- "presentation or otherwise, directly or indirectly, you "are to suspend him from the exercise of his charge; "then seize upon his effects, and send him prisoner

 "to

"to me under a strong guard, and at his own ex-
"pence; you are to treat, in the same manner,
"every other refractory person, let him be who he
"will; and take notice, that this is an absolute order,
"which will not admit of any interpretation or ex-
"cuse. But then, to enable you to execute it, I
"give you all the necessary powers, the present
"allowing you to annul all resolutions to the contrary
"entered in the books of the secular Chapter. God
"preserve you many years, &c."

The Viceroy, besides his [illegible] the Coadjutor and the four Regid[illegible] for their zeal in so just a cause, gave the Camp-master general, in particular, all the authority requisite to insure obedience to his orders, in case the Governor should not be able, or should not shew a disposition, to execute them with as much speed and punctuality as his excellency required. He, likewise, sent duplicates of all these dispatches to Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, enjoining him to assist with all his forces, in case of need, both the Governor of Paraguay and the Camp-master general. Such of those dispatches, as came directly, were directed to the Coadjutor, who immediately delivered them with his own hands, the 13th of February 1728.

1728
1729

Don Martin de Barua could now no longer refuse to obey, without throwing off the mask; which he was above all things willing to avoid; and, therefore, resolved to do that with a good grace, which he could no longer defer doing. He told the Coadjutor, that his excellency should have reason to be satisfied with the manner in which he obeyed his orders. He appointed the Wednesday of the following week, being the 18th of March, for the reception of the Jesuits; and then ordered the Camp-master general to desire the secular Chapter to be with him the next morning between

between seven and eight. When they were all come, he ordered the Royal Notary to read the Viceroy's letter. They, on their side, promised to do every thing the Governor should enjoin them; and this their acquiescence was registered. Urrunnaga, at first, made some difficulty to sign; but, seeing no one seconded him, he signed, in his turn, the two copies that were made of the act, one to be sent to the Viceroy, and the other to the Provincial of the Jesuits, who received it the sixth, and wrote to the Governor by the same courier, that he had already named all the persons who are to fill the college; and that he would himself depute the Rector, who was at too great a distance to be next day at the Assumption.

THE same day, the Camp-master general received orders for two hundred horse, the company of horse-lance-men, and the reformed private men of the Governor's guard, to rendezvous, next morning, by six o'clock, at the gate of the city; and the Serjeant-major, Don Anthony Gonzales Guerra, was directed to hold in readiness two companies of foot, and see that the heavy artillery was in good order.

THE eighteenth, at the hour appointed, the Governor took coach, attended by his guards, as well those in actual pay, as those which had been reformed, and a troop of horse; and called upon the Coadjutor, whom he found ready in his coach, accompanied by three calashes, in one of which was his Provisor, Don Anthony Gonzalez de Gusman, and the Doctor John Gonzalez Melgarejo, Canon of the cathedral; the two others were empty. The first Alcalde in office, Don Anthony Ruiz de Arrellano, and the Royal Notary, Don John Ortiz de Vergara, were in another coach; several of the other principal inhabitants followed on horseback. The whole cavalcade repaired to the place where the troops had orders to form. From thence they proceeded in good

order to the chapel of St. Laurence belonging to the college, about four leagues from the city, this being the place where it had been agreed to meet the Jeſuits.

About nine o'clock, when the proceſſion had got within a quarter of a mile of this place, it was met by the Jeſuits, who ſet out to meet the Biſhop and the Governor, and were complimented by their alighting as ſoon as they came in ſight of them. The compliments on both ſides being over, the whole company took coach again; the Provincial got into the Governor's; the Superior of the Miſſions into that of the Biſhop's; and the reſt into the two other calaſhes and a third coach. They then proceeded to the chapel, and from thence, after ſome prayers, into the houſe belonging to it, where they dined. About two o'clock, they ſet out in the ſame order. The ſecular corporation, in a body, met them at a place about three quarters of a league from the city, where it is cuſtomary with them to receive their new Governors; and having alighted, as well as the Governor, the Biſhop, and the Jeſuits, they all, after mutual compliments, took horſe; the Provincial and his brethren marching at the head of the proceſſion.

They then entered the city under the diſcharge of the cannon; and found, in the little ſquare before the cathedral, all the horſe drawn up, and an infinite number of people; they alight at the great portal, where they found the Dean Don Sebaſtian de Veïgas Machuca, the Great Archdeacon, Don Mathias de Sylva, the Superiors of the Religious orders with all their Religious, and all the Secular Clergy in ſurplices. They then entered the church amidſt the ringing of all the bells of the city, and ſung the *Te Deum.* When prayers were over, the Coadjutor, in his pontifical habits, took the bleſſed Sacrament out of the tabernacle in the chalice, that had been depoſited there

there when the Jeſuits were expelled, and carried it in proceſſion to the College church, through a lane formed by the troops; the drums all the time beating to arms.

THIS done, the Provincial returned his thanks to the Biſhop, the Governor, and all the officers, who had attended the proceſſion. Don Martin de Barua, after putting him in poſſeſſion of the college, withdrew without permitting him or any of his Religious to wait on him home, notwithſtanding all they could do to obtain his conſent. Neither would the Coadjutor receive that honour. But he invited the Governor and the principal officers to aſſiſt, next day, at a ſolemn Maſs of his in the College church; and, after it, to a great dinner, prepared at his expence, in the College refectory. The ſame day, being the 19th, a judicial relation of this reception was drawn up, and entered in the town-houſe books the 20th. On the 25th, the Provincial of the Jeſuits received an authentic copy of it.

WHILE theſe things were doing, there arrived at the Aſſumption a Judge Royal, ſent by 1725
the Viceroy to examine into Antequera's con- 1729
duct during the whole time of his reſiding in the province. But it is requiſite, that, before I give any account of theſe enquiries, I ſhould finiſh my relation of the journey and adventures of this extraordinary perſonage. After falling down the river, without putting in any where, he landed ten leagues above the latitude of Santafe; and from thence proceeded, almoſt alone, and by bye roads, to Corduba; the party ſent after him by the Governor of Rio de la Plata not having been able to come up with him. Here, he was firſt invited by the principal inhabitants, whom he entertained with nothing but the injuries done him by the Jeſuits, not, however, without falling into contradictions, which did not paſs unob-

ſerved,

served, and prejudiced him greatly in the minds of his hearers. He likewise drew up several memorials against these Religious, and got them dispersed all over the province of Tucuman. But they met with no extraordinary reception, and were even stigmatized by the Vicar of the Holy Office.

To these transports he added some extravagancies, which compleatly ruined him in the minds of the people. He appeared in the churches, sometimes in the habit of Attorney General, Protector of the Indians, in the Royal Audience of Charcas, and sometimes in a military dress, with a staff of command in his hand; and always took care to exact the honours due to these dignities. This parade, however, lasted a very short time. He soon shut himself up in the convent of St. Francis, on hearing that Don Ignatius de Ledesma, who commanded in the city, had received orders from the Viceroy to secure him. But it was not long before he began to perceive, that his asylum was surrounded with guards. Upon this, he wrote to the Marquis de Nero, Governor of the province, who resided at Salta, a man pretty much of his own stamp, and who was, accordingly, some time after stript of his government, to beg he would order Ledesma to let him repair to La Plata.

The Governor granted his request; and even made use of threats to oblige Ledesma to let him go. Ledesma, however, having received his orders from a superior authority, inflexibly adhered to them; and even seized three thousand crowns worth of plate and furniture, which arrived at Corduba to Antequera's address; but were since, on appearing to be the property of Don Balthazar Garcia Ros, restored to him by the first opportunity. This, it seems, was part of the effects, which Antequera found in the tent of that General after the battle of the Tebiquari. This stroke made a great impression upon him, but a great deal

deal less than the flight of his secretary, who deposed several things against him upon oath before Ledesma, and afterwards before the King's Notary at Buenos Ayres. Soon after, he received intelligence, that there had been published, by sound of trumpet, in all the market places of Corduba, a sentence of the Viceroy's, declaring him outlawed, and offering a reward of four thousand crowns to whoever should deliver him up dead or alive, and two thousand to whoever should discover the place in which he lay concealed; the money being already deposited for that purpose in the hands of a rich Merchant, or Banker, called Francis de Villa-monte.

Upon this, he retired to a corner of the novices apartment, where even the light of the day became suspect to him, and the least noise put him all in a tremble. But it was still worse, when he was given to understand, that the Viceroy had sent a new order to take him by force out of the monastery, as a person guilty of high treason, and who, for that reason, had no right to make an asylum of it. He now began to see clearly, that he was lost, unless he could find means to make his escape. It has been said, that, on his leaving the convent, though by night and disguised, he was discovered by some of the guards, who gave notice of it to the commanding officer; but that the officer pretended not to hear what they said, and so gave Antequera time to get clear off. Be that as it will, it is certain, that, as soon as he got out of the city, he hid himself so well, that there was no finding him; and proceeded by such bye roads to La Plata, that he arrived there safe, without any disagreeable accident.

He still persuaded himself, that the Royal Audience of this place, if it did not take his part, would at least permit him to continue in it without molestation. Therefore, having received orders to appear before

fore the court, he presented himself with an air of assurance, which gave it no small offence. The President having asked him, what defence he could make for all the extravagancies he had been guilty of in Paraguay, he answered that he had done nothing but what the instructions he had received from the Court authorized him to do: "What then, replied the "President, the Court ordered you to drive the Fa-"thers of the company out of their College; to march "with an army against the troops of his Majesty; "and to cut to pieces so great a number of Indians, "and even some Spaniards, who served in these "troops." Antequera would have spoken to these charges; but the President stopped his mouth; put him into the hands of the Corregidor of Potosi, with orders to conduct him in irons to that place, where he was, accordingly, conducted.

This Officer, having contented himself with confining him to a private house, was reprimanded for his indulgence, and obliged to shut him up in the publick prison, where he found before him the Alguazil Major of Paraguay, Don John de Mena, and some more of his adherents, who were come to wait for him at La Plata, equally persuaded that they had nothing to fear. But they were not long arrived, when they saw their mistake. Antequera, however, still hoped to justify himself; and, therefore, lost no opportunity of railing against the Jesuits. When the order arrived for sending him to Lima, he applied to the Corregidor for a guard for the security of his person, saying, that, without this precaution, the Jesuits might possibly cause him to be assassinated on the road, lest he should make them known at Lima for what they were. "You shall have guards, said "the Corregidor, not to secure you from assassins,

"but

"but to ſecure myſelf from any attempts you may "make to eſcape."

DURING the whole journey, he ſpoke of nothing but the apprehenſions the Jeſuits were under leſt he ſhould get ſafe to Lima. He even went ſo far as to affirm, that theſe Religious had promiſed three thouſand crowns to whoever ſhould murder him on the road. He, likewiſe, pretended, that they had intercepted two of his letters to the Viceroy; and, therefore, gave a third to the Commiſſary of the fathers of St. Francis, whom he met on the road, on his promiſing to deliver it to his excellency with his own hands. The Commiſſary was as good as his word. But the Viceroy, when he had read the letter delivered by him, told him that he had received the two others; that Antequera's ſuſpicions on this head were equally groundleſs with all his other whims; and that, if he did not make him any anſwer, it was becauſe a criminal had no right to expect any from his judge.

ANTEQUERA arrived at Lima in the month 1726
of April 1726; and ſuch was the curioſity of 1729.
the people to ſee a man, who, it was affirmed, had attempted to make himſelf King of Paraguay, that great crowds went out to meet him. Unhappily for him, he had given too much room for theſe reports; nay, there is no telling where his ambition might have ended, could he have hindred Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala from entering this province, and making himſelf maſter of the Reductions. But it is not true, that he ever aſſumed the title of King of Paraguay by the name of Don Joſeph the firſt. The Marquis del Fuerte immediately ordered him to the King's priſon, where, for almoſt five years, he enjoyed as much liberty, as if he had been in a houſe of his own, going wherever he pleaſed, not only in town but in country. I have even been aſſured by a perſon of diſtinction, that he had often lent him his chaiſe upon theſe occaſions.

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Many wondered at his not taking advantage of this indulgence to make his escape. But, besides his being narrowly watched, (and, indeed, it cannot be doubted, that the Viceroy took every proper measure to prevent his elopement), he was firmly persuaded, that no proof could be brought against him. He even was bold enough to say so much to the Archbishop of Lima, who had been predecessor to the Marquis de Castel Fuerte, and who had a better right to know him than any other person. This Prelate having one day expressed his surprize at his not availing himself of the liberty he enjoyed, Antequera answered, that his conscience reproached him with nothing; and that he should certainly be able to unmask his accusers, and shew his enemies in their own colours.

Two things, in particular, inspired him with this confidence. The first was the infinite number of memorials and processes he had composed, and the art with which he had composed them; the second, the talent he possessed, in a sovereign degree, of making people believe whatever he pleased, by the singular turn he knew how to give every thing he spoke of. He began by giving out, that a refusal made by the Jesuits, on pretext of their privileges, to let him visit their Reductions, according to an order he had received for that purpose from the Royal Audience of Charcas, was the true source of every charge brought against him; and it is certain that this tale gained such credit at Lima, that, for several years after, no one called the truth of it in question; so that Don Anthony de Ulloa, in his Voyage to the South Sea, makes no difficulty of relating it as an undoubted fact, and attributing to it all the troubles of this unhappy province. A single letter of his Catholick Majesty, which we shall soon have occasion to mention, might have served to undeceive this author,

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so estimable in other respects. He was not, however, the only person to suffer himself to be led astray by the tone, Antequera found means to give the capital.

But, as Antequera dreaded the Coadjutor of Paraguay even more than the Jesuits, against whom he had found means to prejudice the whole city of Lima, he undertook to gain him, and persuade him so thoroughly of his innocence, that this Prelate, from being one of his most dangerous enemies, might be under a necessity of becoming his defender. He, therefore, wrote to him a letter, dated from his prison the fourth of August 1726, to complain of what he had written against him, and justify his conduct. But the Bishop's answer, which was printed along with his letter, was what perhaps hurt him most in the minds of the Judges, and of all those, who had not permitted themselves to be blinded by his dazzling language.

The Viceroy, on his side, was very uneasy to see himself charged with the trial of a man, who had reduced and brought over to his interest the greatest part of the capital of Peru; and for this reason, even before the criminal's arrival there, made the strongest applications to his Majesty for leave to send him over to Spain, to take his trial there. To this his Majesty at first consented; but it was not long before he changed his mind. Accordingly, and in a letter to the Viceroy of the 18th of April 1726, after enumerating the many crimes laid to Antequera's charge, and in particular that of driving out of the province a company, which, his Majesty is pleased to say, had spread through so many nations the light of the Gospel, he orders the said Antequera to be tried at Lima, and executed there, if found guilty; as, though some things might appear, by sending him to Spain, to extenuate his guilt in other respects, nothing could destroy

destroy the proofs of high treason brought against him, which it was proper to punish, as well as his other crimes, in the kingdom, in which they had been committed. And, as his Majesty knew nothing, when he wrote this letter, of Antequera's being in custody, he directs the Viceroy to spare no pains or expence to cause him to be apprehended and brought to justice. He likewise orders, that the members of the Royal Audience of Charcas, who had a hand in deputing Antequera to Paraguay as Judge Inquisitor against Don Diego de los Reyes, though they knew the former had a commission to succeed the latter when his time was expired, should be immediately suspended, and proceeded against according to law; and all the proceedings sent to him, that he might himself decide on the occasion as circumstances required.

THE first thing the Viceroy did, after he had received these orders, was to commission an Oydor of the Royal Audience of Lima, a man whose probity and talents were universally acknowledged, to examine all the accusations brought against Antequera. But, as several important facts could not be cleared up except in the very places where they happened, he thought proper to send a commissary to Paraguay; and, towards the end of September 1727, named for that important function Don Mathias Anglez, who then commanded at Corduba, and was afterwards promoted to the government of Tucuman. To his instructions he added power to confiscate the goods of all those, whom he should find guilty of rebellion; and particularly recommended to him to proceed against Ramon de las Llanas, and Sebastian Fernandez de Montiel; to cause them to be apprehended; and hear thirty witnesses at least, in regard to the principal facts.

DON Mathias, on receipt of this commission, set out from Corduba; and two days after his arrival at

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the Assumption, Ramon de las Llanas, and Ortiz de Zarate, attempted to stir up the people against him. But he was not to be frightened; and found means to keep the inhabitants within the bounds of their duty. Montiel arrived a few days after; but he thought proper to keep himself concealed, whilst Ramon was apprehended, and Ortiz disappeared; so that Don Mathias's inquisition was carried on with the greatest tranquillity. Though the accused were permitted to except against as many witnesses as they thought proper, there remained a sufficient number; and Don Mathias, having executed his commission to the general satisfaction of all the inhabitants, set out on his return home in the month of May 1728, leaving Ramon in a castle, where he was so ill guarded, that in a few days he found means to get back to the city. As to Montiel, he appeared in publick, without Don Martin de Barua so much as pretending to take any umbrage at it.

The Viceroy no sooner heard of this remissness, than he clearly discovered the necessity there was of giving the province another governor. For this purpose he cast his eyes upon Don Ignatius Saroeta, who had filled with distinction the post of Corregidor at Cusco. He was not, however, without apprehensions, lest this alteration should be attended with another rebellion at the Assumption; and these apprehensions were founded on the following incident. One Fernand Mompo having made his escape out of the prison at Lima by scaling the walls of it, it was soon discovered, that he had taken refuge at the Assumption; and Don Joseph de Antequera was suspected of having given him letters of recommendation for his private adherents, who, in fact, gave him a good reception, and procured him an employment in the town-house. Mompo, it seems, 1728, 1730

gave himſelf out for a lawyer, though there is great reaſon to doubt, whether he ever ſtudied the law. Be that as it will, he uſed to decide boldly; and gave it out as a maxim, which had never been contradicted, that the authority of the Commune, or body of the people, it was thus he expreſſed himſelf, was ſuperior even to that of the King himſelf. In the ferment that now prevailed in the minds of the inhabitants, this maxim was well received by a certain number of perſons, and gained its author no ſmall credit.

SUCH was the ſtate of affairs at the Aſſumption, towards the cloſe of the year 1730, when the inhabitants received the news of Don Soroeta's promotion. At firſt, it gave ſome uneaſineſs to the factious, but the new juriſconſult ſoon found means to quiet their apprehenſions. "We muſt oppoſe, ſaid he, the reception of this new Governor, in the name of the Commune; and then no one in particular can be brought to an account for it." This was judged an admirable expedient, and the city immediately ſplit into two oppoſite parties. That of the factious took the name of the *Commune*; the others were called the *Contrabande*. The firſt called themſelves *Communeros*, and all the reſt *Contrabandos*. The firſt bore the ſway, as being the boldeſt; they immediately declared that they would have no other governor but Don Martin de Barua.

1730 DURING theſe commotions, there arrived a letter written from Santafe by Don Ignatius Soroeta, to give notice that he would ſoon repair to the Aſſumption. This letter was penned with all the prudence and politeneſs, which characterized the writer. In the ſame packet there was one from the Viceroy, in praiſe of the new Governor, directed to the ſecular chapter and all the perſons in employment. When both had been read in a great aſſembly held at the town-houſe, Don Martin de Barua

voted

voted that the new Governor should be received, and no one voted against him. It was resolved, that deputies should be sent to compliment Don Ignatius de Soroeta, and assure him, that he should be received with respect. But this was all a farce. Barua knew full well, but without pretending to know it, the Communeros were taking measures to hinder Soroeta from setting his foot in the province; and that Ramon and Montiel were scouring the environs of the capital, in order to stir up the inhabitants.

The Coadjutor, who was then making the visit of his diocese, no sooner heard of these commotions, than he returned to the Assumption, where he arrived the 29th of December, being the King's birth day. After he had pontifically celebrated the divine mysteries in his cathedral, he spoke to the Governor, in presence of the two Chapters and all the Parish Priests of the city; and told him, that he was credibly informed, that a conspiracy was hatching, from which nothing but the greatest mischief could be expected: that Mompo was gone to raise the garrisons of all the neighbouring places against the Governor sent by the Viceroy; that Don Bernardin Martinez, who commanded in the valley of Tabati, and Don Ignatius Pereira, who commanded in the Castle of Aracuaga, were assembling the troops under their orders; and that every one knew what they meant by so doing.

Barua coldly answered, that he knew nothing of these transactions; and that his lordship must have been imposed upon, especially in regard to Mompo and Pereira, for whom he could answer. "Sir," replied the Bishop, withdrawing himself at the same time, "you will soon see, that I have better intelligence than you imagine." And, in fact, before two days were at an end, news was received, that the two Officers, for whom Barua had answered,

 were

were approaching the city at the head of three hundred men. The Governor ſent them orders to ſtop ſhort; but it was by one of the moſt zealous partizans of the Commune; and they behaved accordingly. They anſwered, that the Commune had a great many things to repreſent to, the General, as well as to the Secular Chapter; and continued their march.

THEY entered the city the 28th of December; and, Don Martin de Barua having ſent them an order to retire, they all began to bawl out, that they would have no Governor but him, and would never receive Soroeta. They brought with them, and ſoon made publick, memorials full of invectives againſt the Viceroy, the Coadjutor, and the Jeſuits. But they had ſo much treſpaſſed in theſe writings againſt all rules of decency as well as duty, that Hell itſelf ſeemed to have dictated them. The Rebels intended to begin by excluding from the Council the Regidors Otazu, Cavallero de Anaſco, Benitez and John Gonzalez Freyre. But it was neceſſary to have the conſent of Barua, who now ſaw how much he was to blame for ſuffering things to be carried to ſuch lengths.

THE only method he could now think of, to eſcape the danger into which he had thus brought himſelf, was to abdicate the government. He imagined, that, after this ſtep, he could no longer be made reſponſible for what might follow; and ſtill leſs for having favoured the revolt, thereby to maintain himſelf in his poſt. But this abdication ſerved only to encreaſe the evil, without convincing any one of the integrity of his intentions.

THE moſt moderate exerted themſelves to engage him to keep his ſtaff till his ſucceſſor came to take it, by repreſenting to him the inconveniencies of an anarchy in the preſent circumſtances. They took notice to him, that no one had a right to receive his demiſſion,

demiſſion, or name a Commandant; and added, that this was the opinion of the Commune itſelf.

As theſe remonſtrances did not appear to make any impreſſion upon him, the Coadjutor, attended by his Canons, the Pariſh Prieſts of the city, and the Superiors of the Fathers of the Merci, St. Dominick, and St. Francis, made a new attempt to prevail upon him. But he was not to be moved. The Prelate, however, having returned twice to the charge, Barua promiſed to do every thing that was required of him, provided he was aſſured, that no one would oppoſe the reception of the Governor ſent by the Viceroy. But he knew full well, that the Commune would not accept this Condition. All he wanted, as Soroeta ſince reproached him, was to engage the Biſhop in a negotiation, which he was ſure muſt miſcarry, if his lordſhip at all conſented to be employed in it. He likewiſe flattered himſelf, that this propoſal of his would be taken for an inconteſtible proof of his ſincerity. But he happened to be too well known, thus to impoſe on the world.

In the mean time, the tumult increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the ſeditious, pretending there was no Governor, nor, of courſe, any one to aſſure them, that they ſhould not be brought to an account by the ſuperior Tribunals, were for obliging Don Martin de Barua by force to take up again the ſtaff of command; but, though all their endeavours proved fruitleſs, the Coadjutor, at laſt, brought them to promiſe, that they would receive Soroeta, by becoming ſecurity for his not proceeding againſt them for what was paſt. He then conducted them to hear the maſs he was going to celebrate. But they left the church in a greater fury than ever. This ſudden relapſe was attributed to the diſcourſes of ſome perſons wholly intent upon fomenting a ſpirit of revolt among them.

Be that as it will, they all cried out with one voice, that they would not have Soroeta for Governor; that they would have none but Don Martin de Barua; and that it was neceſſary to depoſe the four Regidors, whom Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala had re-eſtabliſhed. They would even have had the Coadjutor ſide with them; but he rejected their propoſals with indignation. He then again preſſed Barua to re-aſſume the government, till his ſucceſſor arrived. But it was to no purpoſe; and the Commune, having now no longer any oppoſition to fear, no longer kept any meaſures. They impriſoned Otazu, Freyre, and ſome other of the King's moſt zealous ſervants; and it was only by flight, that Ramirez avoided ſharing the ſame fate. They then named Saldivon Camp-maſter General, and Francis de Roa Serjeant Major; and cauſed Don Joſeph Barrero and Don Pedro Bogarrin to be elected Alcaldes for the enſuing year, thinking they might depend upon them. But it ſeems they did not ſufficiently know them.

The Coadjutor, in fine, after trying to no purpoſe every method his zeal and his prudence could ſuggeſt to allay this ſtorm; after making to the factious all the propoſals moſt capable of quieting their fears, leſt the utter deſpair of pardon ſhould plunge them into ſtill greater crimes, even ſo far as to offer paſſes for thoſe, who might think proper to paſs over into Spain, or repair to Lima; and even letters to his Majeſty and the Viceroy, from whom he would be anſwerable to obtain a general pardon for all that was paſt; after ſetting before their eyes the deſtruction, that unavoidably waited them, in caſe they refuſed his offers, and the little they had to hope by perſiſting in their rebellion; he had the concern to leave them in a fit of fury, which they vented by bawling through all the ſtreets, that it was neceſſary, once more, and that for ever, to drive the Jeſuits out of the province.

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The inhabitants of the Assumption now could no longer promise themselves any safety within doors. Nothing was to be seen but plundering and pillaging. Nay, the factious themselves were not always more spared than others. It was impossible, that things should remain, for any length of time, in this violent condition. The principal leaders of the Commune were advised to withdraw for some time, that it might not be said they had authorized these disorders. But, before they retired to their country seats, they placed guards about the Governor's house, for the safety of his person, they said; and, likewise, about the town-house, where they had imprisoned the two new Alcaldes, and the Regidors Arrellano, Chavarri, and Michael de Garai, because they would not consent to the expulsion of the Jesuits, though some of them had signed memorials full of calumnies against these Fathers.

Don Ignatius Soroeta had, in the mean time, advanced as far as the Tebiquari, where he received two letters; one from the Coadjutor, who advised him to stay where he was, till he had taken measures for his safety; the other from Don Martin de Barua, who gave him an account of all the resolutions taken by the Commune. Don Ignatius made the last a polite answer, but in such terms, as might let him see what danger he himself should be exposed to, if the Governor named by the Viceroy was not received in the province. He then retired to an Hermitage of St. Michael, where Don Estevan Fernandez de Mora came to join him with thirty soldiers, which he had drawn from the towns of La Villa and the Holy Ghost; and acquainted him, that there were great disturbances at La Villa, as the Commune had sent Alonzo de los Reyes, an intimate friend of Don Martin de Barua, to command there in their name; and he had been receiv-

ed there by part of the inhabitants, in spite of all the opposition made by the rest.

1731 Some time after, Soroeta received a pass from the principal Magistrates of the Assumption; upon which, though the heads of the Commune had not signed it, he set out for the Assumption the 10th of January 1731. He had scarce crossed the Tebiquari, when he found himself invested by a party of eighty soldiers, who told him they were come to escort him, but in reality had orders from the Commune to make sure of his person. As it was now too late for him to retire, he put on a good countenance. As he approached the city, his escort suddenly encreased to four thousand men. However, instead of expressing any dread or surprise at it, he spoke to them with so much goodness and affability, that he gained the esteem and affection of most of them. In this manner, he entered the Assumption; and had, immediately on his arrival, a publick conference with Don Martin de Barua, which riveted him in the esteem of all honest men.

Barua, still persuaded that this new Governor would not be received as such, did not think proper to quit his palace for him; so that Soroeta was obliged to be conducted to a private house, about which the Commune placed guards, which did not allow him the liberty of speaking to any one without witnesses. They even carried their insolence so far, as to enter with him the Coadjutor's apartment, when he went to pay that Prelate a visit. The day after his arrival, being the 25th of January, he went to the town-house, to present his commission. But the preceding night had been employed by the factious in regaining all those, whom his courteous behaviour had brought over to his interest; and in taking such good measures, that, after the Assembly had promised obedience to him, the Commune should

ſhould riſe up, and by their ſeditious clamours cauſe a general inſurrection.

The thing happened as it had been concerted. The new Governor was ſtopped, on his return home, near the main guard, and ſerved with an order from the Commune to leave the province. He now clearly ſaw, what dangers he ſhould be expoſed to by continuing amongſt theſe madmen, and prepared to ſet out. But, though he remained but four days and a half at the Aſſumption, and was all that time narrowly watched, he diſcovered a great many things, with which it was highly proper the Viceroy ſhould be acquainted; in particular, that the third of February following, being the Feſtival of St. Blaiſe, one of the Patrons of the capital, Don Martin de Barua, in conſequence of a previous conſultation between him and the heads of the Commune, was to be again proclaimed Governor. He did not, however, think himſelf obliged to conceal from Don Martin his having obtained this intelligence; for, on taking leave of him the 28th of January: *Adieu, Sir,* ſaid he, *I ſhall ſcarce have turned my back, when you will take up the ſtaff again.* Barua gueſſed that he did not expreſs himſelf thus from a ſimple ſuſpicion; and, therefore, reſolved not to reaſſume the ſtaff again.

Some perſons, affecting great zeal for Soroeta's ſafety, had adviſed him to embark on the Paraguay. But, as he ſuſpected the advice of every one he happened not to be acquainted with, he anſwered, that he choſe to travel by land; and they thought proper not to preſs him. It has been ſince diſcovered, that this was a ſnare to make him fall into the hands of the Payaguas. At leaſt, there appeared very ſtrong indications of theſe pirates having had notice given them of his expected departure; and that they were to murder him, or at leaſt to carry off his papers. The Coadjutor himſelf, finding that all his endea-

vours

vours to keep Soroeta at the Assumption proved unsuccessful, remained there but a short time after him.

This Prelate was well informed of what he had himself to apprehend from the rebels, who took no pains to hide their resentment at his refusing to consent to the expulsion of the Jesuits. He even knew, that the only reason they had for not proceeding to the execution of their designs against these Fathers, was their having heard, that he had sent orders to all the churches to discontinue Divine service, and even lay the whole city under an interdict, the minute these Religious should be obliged to quit it. But what, at length, determined him to retire, was his having received certain intelligence, that the Commune was resolved no longer to mind his interdicts, and the censures of the Church; but immediately drive the Jesuits out of their College, without troubling their heads about what he might do. As, therefore, he could not ward this blow, he thought it became him not to stay to be a witness to it.

The chiefs of the rebellion, however, not a little chagrined at his departure, immediately went to discharge their spleen upon the Royal Alferez, Denis de Otazu, who, not thinking himself safe at home, had taken refuge in the Convent of St. Francis. They entered it forcibly in the night time, went to his chamber; and, after reproaching him with having betrayed his country, took from him the Royal standard, which he did not, they said, deserve to carry; and then deposited it with the first Alcalde, Barreyro. They, now, thought themselves at liberty to do what they pleased, as they made no doubt of their being able to do what they pleased with impunity; the situation of the province, they imagined,

imagined, being such, that it would be impossible to reduce them by force.

All authority was now in the hands of Saldivon, whom they had named Camp-master General, and the ruling Alcaldes and Regidors. Nothing, however, was done without the advice of Mompo, the author and the oracle of the Commune, and the sovereign arbiter of all their deliberations. They, likewise, paid great regard to that of Don Martin de Barua, though he constantly refused to act as Governor. But, though he chimed in greatly with Mompo, he took care not to appear openly in any thing. People, however, had such an opinion of his credit with them, that one of the principal inhabitants of the Assumption dared not refuse him to depose upon oath, though contrary to his conscience, that the Coadjutor had not given him notice of the conspiracy formed by the Commune. He weakly imagined, it seems, that he might discharge his conscience by a private retractation; and by declaring, that it was merely to avoid Barua's indignation, he had thus acted against it.

The Commune now began to perceive, that it was proper to give their government some regular form. It is even very probable, that they resolved to do without a Governor. They erected a junto for the administration of justice; resolved, that the President of it should be stiled President of the Province; and, after casting their eyes on different persons, fixed upon Don Joseph Lewis de Barreyro to fill that post. The manner, in which the Alcalde had hitherto behaved, had universally ingratiated him with the factious. But he no sooner took possession of his new dignity, than he shewed himself to be, what he really was, a very loyal subject; he resolved to make no use of his power, but to re-establish order and subordination in the province. With this view,

view, he immediately rid it of the man, whom he thought the most capable of making his project miscarry.

Knowing, that Mompo used to go very often to a farm house, to see a woman of low condition, with whom he had been smitten, he took a party of men with him; threw himself in his way on his return to the Assumption; and, on meeting him, cried out, "This is a lucky meeting. I was going with "these men to Yaguaron, to depose the Corregidor "there; and you will oblige me greatly, if you will "be so kind as to come with me, to prevent my "taking any wrong step." Mompo, who had no great affection for the Corregidor, complied with joy. But Barreyro, instead of taking the road to Yaguaron, turned towards the Tebiquari; and Mompo, who happened not to be well acquainted with the country, and whom Barreyro found means to amuse at the Corregidor's expence, never took notice of it.

As night came on, and no signs of Yaguaron appeared, Mompo began to suspect his conductor; and the chearfulness, with which he had hitherto behaved, suddenly forsook him. He said, that they must certainly have mistaken the road; but Barreyro assured him that they would soon be at their journey's end. Soon after, they reached the Tebiquari; when the President assuming an air of authority, told Mompo, that he arrested him in the King's name; and, without giving him time to reply, ordered him to be conducted to Ytati, from whence he was sent to Buenos Ayres, where Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala confined him in a dungeon, and gave orders for his trial.

This vigorous stroke greatly stunned the Commune, not so much from any regard to Mompo, as from the apprehensions of his discovering several

things,

things, with which it highly imported many of their principal leaders that the superior Tribunals should remain unacquainted. Barreyro, in the mean time, found means to give so favourable a turn to what he had done, that the warmest of the party contented themselves with saying, that, if Mompo was guilty, it would have been much more proper to try him in the province, than to deliver him up to the enemies of the Commune. The President not only let them go on, but lost no time to declare himself openly a faithful servant of his Majesty. Nobody, however, ventured to oppose him, as the confidence with which he acted was taken for a sure sign, that he had a powerful party ready to declare in his favour.

The Commune, besides, had something more urgent to deliberate upon than the behaviour of their President. This was, to hinder Mompo from falling into the hands of the Viceroy, who would not fail to make him say more than suited with their safety. People imagined, that, as soon as he had been tried at Buenos Ayres, the Governor would transmit him to Lima, as it in fact happened. But Don Bruno happened to be ill served by those, whom he had chosen to conduct his prisoner. He ordered them to take the road of Mendoza, a town within the jurisdiction of Chili, and from thence continue their journey, by bye roads, to the capital of Peru; whereas, when they arrived at Mendoza, thinking they had nothing more to fear, they took the high road. But they soon found themselves mistaken; their prisoner was rescued; and, as it was afterwards discovered, made his escape into Brazil.

Barreyro found it an easy matter to contain the factious, till the month of August following, when the news of Mompo's evasion reached the Assumption. But then the passion of two men, who declared openly against the President, rekindled the fire of rebellion. One of these men was Bartholomew

lomew de Galvan; the other Michael de Garai: The first wanted to be revenged of Barreyro, who had opposed him in an affair of great importance to him. The other was incensed at Saldivon the Camp-master General's opposing him in every thing; and at the President's not endeavouring to stop this persecution, after he had been requested to interpose his authority for that purpose. They, therefore, united against him, and resolved to ruin him.

This dissention had very material consequences. The confusion became general all over the Province, and both parties raised troops. Barreyro held out a long time, with a firmness worthy of the cause he maintained. But finding that he was betrayed by the very men upon whom he had most depended, he judged it was high time to consult his safety. He, first, withdrew to the House of the Fathers of the Merci. But, the Commune having placed guards about it, he concluded that a design had been formed against his life. He, therefore, contrived to make his escape out of so disagreeable an asylum; and, after many narrow escapes from his pursuers, reached one of the Reductions. His enemies comforted themselves for his escape, by the liberty which his absence afforded them of doing every thing they thought proper. They immediately appointed Don Michael de Garai to succeed him as President of the Junto; and the first use their new Magistrate made of his authority was, to create two new Regidors, who were entirely devoted to him.

Though Barreyro's retreat left the Jesuits of the Assumption without any support, the Commune did not think proper to attempt any thing against them, lest the opposite party should take up arms in their defence. They, therefore, thought it more advisable to begin by rendering them odious, even to those, who still expressed the greatest esteem and friendship for them. They caused it to be rumoured

as a thing certain, that they had diſtributed money among the Payaguas, to engage them to fall in a body upon the city, and ruin it from the foundations; after maſſacring all its inhabitants; and, to give the greater air of probability to ſo atrocious a calumny, a Friar, who ſided with the Commune, was prevailed upon to diſperſe all over the city a manifeſto, as the undoubted work of Father Gomez, in which the Viceroy and ſeveral very reſpectable perſons were treated with the greateſt indecency. The character of the man, who propagated this impoſture, gave it ſuch weight, that in a ſhort time the beſt and honeſteſt men ſeemed to be alarmed, in good earneſt at the danger, to which they thought the province was expoſed; and expreſſed their ſurprize at the inhabitants ſuffering among them perſons capable of ſo black a crime.

The Fathers, however, had ſtill ſome friends left, generous enough to refute theſe calumnies: and the Camp-maſter General abſolutely refuſed to conſent to their expulſion; not that he loved them; but that he did not chooſe to have any violences againſt them to anſwer for. He wanted greatly, that they ſhould retire of themſelves; and, to oblige them to it, left every one at liberty to uſe them ill. Accordingly, things were carried to ſuch extremities, that they could no longer venture to ſhew their faces abroad, even to procure themſelves the neceſſaries of life; ſo that they might have periſhed with hunger, had not ſome charitable perſons privately ſent them proviſions. Nor was it an eaſy matter to do this good work, as all the avenues of the College were beſet with guards. At length, the Commune finding they held out notwithſtanding, employed every method to ſtir up the populace againſt them, in order to make them quit the College themſelves, rather than wait to be violently driven out of it.

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For this purpose it was given out, that an army of their Indians was advanced as far as the Tebiquari, where they only waited for their orders to enter the province. Then, on the report of some sure persons, who had been sent out to examine into the truth of these reports, that they discovered no such thing, the Commune accused them of having an understanding with the Jesuits, and sent Deputies to the Coadjutor, to beg of him to oblige the Provincial of the Company to send back these forces. The Prelate made answer, that they had no reason to make themselves uneasy; that these Neophites, it was true, held themselves in readiness to defend themselves, in case of attack; but that they would remain quiet, as long as no attempts should be made on their liberty, unless they were ordered into the field by those who had then a right to do it.

The Deputies of the Commune having met the Prelate on his return to the Assumption, he had a mind to try, if, after nine months absence, the rebels would be readier to listen to him than when he set out, as he began to flatter himself they would, from an account he received on the road, that there was no good understanding between their Chiefs. He had even been informed, that they had entered the city in the month of November in two separate bodies, who disagreed in regard to several points; the deposition of the Camp-master General being the only measure that met with no opposition, as they found him inflexible in regard to the expulsion of the Jesuits. But this Officer had dexterity enough to avail himself of their misunderstanding in other respects, so far as to defeat all their endeavours to remove him.

1731 The Coadjutor was not equally happy in
1732 drawing from these divisions the advantages he expected. But what gave him most con-

cern was, that the greatest obstacles to his success were formed by some Ecclesiasticks, who, though more obliged than others to extinguish the fire of rebellion, employed themselves wholly in fomenting it. Nay a Friar, who preached at the Cathedral during Advent, was not ashamed to apologize for the Commune. This, after all, considering the general infatuation which now possessed the Inhabitants of the Assumption, may appear less surprising, than what happened the year following at Buenos Ayres, where a priest was heard to affirm from the pulpit, that the Commune of Paraguay had deviated in nothing from the obedience due to the laws of the kingdom, either by defending their liberty by force, or by refusing to acknowledge Don Ignatius de Soroeta for Governor of the Province. The memoir, in which I found this fact, does not name the Preacher; but yet describes him sufficiently to authorize a conjecture, that it was Father John de Arreguy, a Franciscan, named to the Bishoprick of Buenos Ayres; and it will appear in the course of this history, that this conjecture is but too well founded.

Be that as it will, the year was now drawing to a conclusion; and there was a necessity for thinking on the election of new Officers for that ensuing. Don Anthony Ruis de Arrelano and Don Francis de Roxos Aranda were chosen Alcaldes. The first was, at the same time, declared President of the Junto; and the first thing he did on entering that office, was to draw up judicial accounts of every thing that had passed in the Province since the departure of Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, to be sent to the Royal Audience of Charcas; flattering himself, that this Sovereign Court would approve it. He charged with these accounts Bartholomew Galvin and Anthony Vaez, with whom Don Joseph Canalez, one

of the Eccleſiaſticks who had declared for the Communes, aſſociated himſelf, in order to proſecute an appeal, which he had carried before the Metropolitan againſt a ſentence pronounced againſt him by the Proviſor, and afterwards confirmed by the Coadjutor. But theſe Deputies, on their arrival at Corduba, received ſome news, which determined them not to proceed any further. The better to underſtand what this news was, we muſt reſume the thread of what had happened at Lima, ſince the Marquis de Caſtel Fuerte had received orders from the King to try, without appeal, Don Joſeph de Antequera; and cauſe to be executed the ſentence, which he ſhould paſs upon him in the Royal Audience of Lima.

We have already ſeen, that the Viceroy, in conſequence of the ſupreme orders juſt now mentioned, had ſent a Commiſſary to Paraguay, to take informations of every thing that had paſſed in this Province, ſince Don Joſeph de Antequera had uſurped the government of it. As ſoon, therefore, as the Commiſſary returned, his excellency ordered the tryal to be begun and proſecuted without intermiſſion; and, perhaps, a more perplexed affair never came before any court of juſtice, as well on account of the enormous quantity of depoſitions which it was neceſſary to read and to compare, as the artful turn given to thoſe written in defence of the criminal and his accomplices.

Accordingly, Antequera made ſo ſure of its being impoſſible to convict him, that his confidence ſeemed to increaſe in proportion as the depoſitions were examined. His anſwer to thoſe, who expreſſed any ſurpriſe at his ſecurity, was, that, during his reſidence in Paraguay, he had rendered the King ſervices, for which he expected his Majeſty would thank him, though they ſhould be found to conſiſt

in nothing but the discovery he had made of the artifices of the Jesuits, and the treasures they possessed. "In a word," he used to cry out upon every occasion, "I only desire to see my conduct well sifted, to be "loaded with honours; otherwise, I must be hanged; "there is no medium for me." This is what the gentleman, I have already mentioned, assured me he heard from Antequera's own mouth.

THE depositions of Don Matthias Anglez checked his confidence a little; but the arrival of Don Ignatius Soroeta compleated his ruin. The Viceroy expected every moment to hear of his being peaceably settled in his government of Paraguay, when he saw him enter his apartment. Surprised at so unexpected an apparition, he asked him what brought him back to Peru. Soroeta, after a short relation of all the dangers he had to encounter through the means of the rebels of that Province, gave his excellency to understand, that, in all probability, Don Joseph de Antequera and Don John de Mena still greatly influenced all the proceedings at the Assumption. The Viceroy, upon this, immediately sent for the Marquis of Casa Conchez, President of the Royal Audience of Lima, and begged of him to repair to the King's prison, and seize upon all Antequera's papers. The President, accordingly, went there, but brought nothing back except some writings of no consequence. The Viceroy having then asked him, if he had searched the prisoner's pockets, and the President answering that he had not, "Return directly," replied the Viceroy, "and search every where." The Marquis, accordingly, returned; searched Antequera's pockets; and found in them letters, the perusal of which, if we may judge by the resolution which his excellency immediately took, fully justified Soroeta's suspicions.

The first thing he did was to order Antequera to a dungeon, and acquaint the Royal Audience, that they must lay every other business aside, in order to dispatch the tryal of him and his fellow-prisoner. The work was already in such forwardness, through the vigilance of the President, that, in a few days, both of them received sentence. That of Don Joseph de Antequera y Castro imported, that, being found guilty of sedition and rebellion, and consequently of high treason, he should be taken out of his prison in a cloak and hood, placed upon a horse caparisoned with black, and, preceded by a Herald publickly proclaiming the crimes of which he had been accused and convicted, conducted to the Great Square, there to lose his head on a scaffold; that all his effects should be confiscated to the use of the Crown, after deducting the expences attending his tryal; and that the Alguazil Major, Don John de Mena, his accomplice in these crimes; should be conducted to the same place, to be strangled on a scaffold lower than the first.

The news of this sentence caused a general uproar all over the city, and every one called the justice of it in question. Antequera himself was of another way of thinking. His sentence had no sooner been read to him, than, as if a film had suddenly dropt from his eyes, he not only acknowledged himself guilty, but the Jesuits appeared to him in quite a different light from that, in which he had hitherto considered them. The first thing he did was, to engage the Provincial of the Dominicans, who had immediately repaired to his prison, to beg Father Thomas Cavero, Rector of the College of St. Paul, to come and see him; and, as soon as he saw Father Cavero enter his room, he fell prostrate at his feet, bathed in tears; implored his pardon and that of the whole Company for all he had done,

said, or published against them; protesting, that, if it was in his power, he would go round all their houses, with a chain about his neck, to make the same declaration, and ask the same indulgence.

The Rector, melting into tears at these demonstrations of repentance, took him up, and, embracing him in the tenderest manner, assured him that every thing should be forgot. He added, however, that, as the injuries he had done the Society were of a public nature, he thought the confession and reparation of them should, likewise, be public. Antequera answered, that nothing could be more just; and that he, accordingly, intended to acquit himself of this duty on the Scaffold. But afterwards reflecting, that he might not be then in a condition to explain himself as he ought, he charged Father Aspericualta, a Dominican, who was come to prepare him for death, to publish for him, before he was executed, his retraction and repentance.

Father Cavero having then asked him, if he might not expect to be of some service to him, he answered, that he would infinitely oblige him by engaging Father Manuel de Galezan, to come and see him, and not stir from him during the three days he had to live. Father Galezan, though he had entirely lost his sight, and that very early, was at this time the most eminent Preacher and Director of consciences in all Lima. Antequera requested some more of the Jesuits, with whom he was best acquainted during his studies at Lima in the College of St. Paul, to come and see him likewise. But he placed his chief confidence in Father de Galezan, who came directly and shut himself up in the prison with him; and could scarce obtain a single moment from him, to comply with his most indispensable duties.

 Nothing,

Nothing, moreover, could be more edifying than his conversation and his aspect; so that the Friars, who, according to the custom of the country, assisted him in great numbers, had nothing to do but to cherish the good sentiments with which God inspired him. But, while the criminal thus condemned himself, and thought of nothing but how he might satisfy justice, and deserve the mercies of the Lord, nothing was to be heard all over the city, but the cries of persons, of every rank and condition, exclaiming against the injustice done him. Every one believed him on his word, when he protested he was innocent, and charged the Jesuits with the greatest crimes; and no one would believe him, when he owned himself guilty, and retracted all he had said against them. Some Oydors, it was given out, refused to sign his sentence. Those, who had signed it, were become the objects of the public hatred. Nay, the President himself, till now universally esteemed and respected for his integrity and probity, was torn to pieces by the most cruel satires. The Jesuits were spared still less than the Judges. In a word, the general cry was, that the Viceroy sacrificed the most evident innocence to the passion of these Religious, who now no longer dared to stir out of their houses. This prevention had taken so strong a hold of the inhabitants, that they could not be cured of it, even by seeing that Antequera, though surrounded by Friars in his way to the place of execution, did not give any solid marks of confidence to any body but Father de Galezan.

It was on the 5th of July 1731, that he was taken out of prison in the equipage I have mentioned; the Herald, who preceded him, making, with a loud voice, the following proclamation: "By order of "the King our Sovereign Lord, whom God preserve, "and in his Royal name, in virtue of the sentence "pronounced

"pronounced by the most excellent Lord the Vice-"roy of these Provinces, with the advice of the Royal "Audience, Don. Joseph de Antequera y Castro "is condemned to die on a scaffold, for having "made the Province of Paraguay take up arms; "engaged it several times in a revolt, and a refusal to "yield the obedience due to the superior Tribunals; "for having refused to receive the Governor sent "by the Viceroy; for having assembled an army "with artillery against that coming from Buenos "Ayres by order of the superior powers; for having "attacked this army, and killed above six hundred "men of it. For all these facts, and others menti-"oned in the tryal, he is condemned to lose his "head on a scaffold. May all those like him perish "in the same manner."

THE Viceroy, who foresaw these commotions, had sent for the Commandant of Calao with a detachment of his garrison. But, in spite of this precaution, the moment Antequera appeared, the Great Square, and the streets leading to it, filled with a multitude of people, the most moderate of whom, with those at the balconies and windows, cried out, *Mercy, Mercy*; while the rest bellowed out *Injustice, Injustice*. A lay brother of the order of St. Francis ascended the scaffold; and, shaking his sleeve, bawled out with all his might, *Mercy, Mercy*; then, getting down again, he posted himself under the scaffold with a great cudgel under his habit. Some time after, there appearing a great croud, the soldiers from Calao received orders to fire upon it, as there was reason to think it came to rescue the criminal; and two Franciscan Friars, who happened to be in it, were unfortunately killed. It is even affirmed, that some soldiers fired into a balcony, and there killed a third Franciscan. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the lay brother under the scaffold, on seeing the two first

fall, was ſcared to ſuch a degree, that he immediately took to his heels, and never ſtopt till he got to St. Paul's College, where he ran like a man who had loſt his ſenſes into the Apothecary's ſhop. This I learned from one, who then happened to be in the houſe.

ANTEQUERA, who, all this time, was drawing near the ſcaffold, ſeemed to take little notice of what was doing, except by begging of Father de Galezan not to forſake him, but to continue to ſuggeſt to him every thing he thought it his duty to do, to put himſelf in a condition to appear before the Sovereign Judge. The Viceroy, however, finding that the tumult rather increaſed than abated, took horſe, and put himſelf at the head of his guards. But his preſence ſerved only to inflame it to a ſtill greater degree. Fearing, therefore, that the criminal ſhould be reſcued, he ordered him to be fired at. Some have aſſured, that it was then the two Franciſcan Fathers, I juſt now mentioned, and who it is ſaid were of the number of thoſe that aſſiſted Antequera, had the misfortune of being killed; but this fact, it is probable, was publiſhed merely to render the Viceroy odious. Antequera was ſtill on horſeback, when the ſoldiers fired at him; but they took their aim ſo well that he fell to the ground. It however might have happened, that, ſome ſoldiers having afterwards fired ſome random ſhots, two of the Religious who aſſiſted the criminal might have fallen through fear, and be afterwards trampled to death. At leaſt, Father Galezan was thrown down by the multitude when they diſperſed. Be that as it will, it is univerſally allowed, that Antequera was mortally wounded, and expired the moment after his fall in the arms of the Fathers de Galezan and Philip de Valverde; and that they had the ſatisfaction to ſee him die in the ſame ſentiments,

in

in which, ſince his condemnation, they had always found him.

The Viceroy immediately ordered his body to be laid upon the ſcaffold, and his head to be cut off and ſhewed to the people by the Executioner. He then ſent to take the Alguazil Major, Don John de Mena, out of priſon; and as the Executioner, who was to ſtrangle him, could not be found, he gave orders that he ſhould be beheaded, and his head ſhewed in the ſame manner with Antequera's. All this was done without any one daring to make the leaſt oppoſition; the intrepidity ſhewn by his excellency in a conjuncture, in which his life was in danger, having diſconcerted the ſeditious. I omit ſeveral things which happened when theſe executions were over, as I thought it no eaſy matter to diſtinguiſh between truth and falſehood in the relations given of them.

BOOK XII.

Effects produced, in Paraguay, by the execution of Antequera and Mena. Jesuits driven a third time out of their College at the Assumption. Don Joseph Palos's letter on the occasion to their Provincial. The Guaycurus threaten the City. Confusion in it. Measures taken by Don Bruno de Zavala for the security of the Province. The Commune retain the Bishop against his will. The town of Corientes takes part with the Commune, and sends its King's Lieutenant prisoner to the Assumption. The Commune receive a blow from the Reduction Indians. Don Manuel Augustin de Ruiloba named Governor of Paraguay. Measures taken by the Bishop to facilitate his reception. Reduction Indians ordered to assemble on the frontiers. Bishop of Buenos Ayres, at the Assumption. His strange behaviour there. Civil war in the Commune; ended by a truce made by the mediation of the two Bishops. Arrival of the new Governor at the Assumption. He meets with great opposition in his attempts to re-establish the Jesuits. The Malecontents raise troops. The Governor does the same, but is abandoned by most of them: will not listen to any accommodation; is left alone, and killed; his body treated with great indignity. The Commune name the Bishop of Buenos Ayres their Governor. The Reduction Indians return home. The name of Commune changed into that of General Junto. New Governor made a tool of by the Commune; signs an edict against the Jesuits. Representation of their Provincial. Don Diego de los Rayes fully justified. The Bishop of Paraguay convinces of his misbehaviour that of Buenos Ayres, who thereupon withdraws to Buenos

Buenos Ayres. The Bishop of Paraguay follows him. The Reduction Indians return to the Frontiers. Orders of the Viceroy, in consequence of the murder of the Governor. Famine and sickness in the Reductions. New divisions in the Junto. Death-bed retraction of the Defender of the Junto. Effects of it. Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala causes himself to be received in quality of Governor of Paraguay; defeats the rear guard of the rebel army. Punishment of Prisoners. Reduction Indians dismissed. Governor's letter in their favour to the King. He makes his entry into the Assumption. Unexpected submission of several Rebels. Some punished. The Bishop of Paraguay shipwrecked in his return to the Assumption. Jesuits unanimously recalled by the whole province: how received. Don Bruno named Governor of Chili; appoints Don Martin d'Echauri Governor of Paraguay: sets out for his new government. Attempt of the Spaniards upon the Colony of the Holy Sacrament, assisted by the Reduction Indians. One of their pastors killed in the attack. College founded for the Jesuits, at Buenos Ayres; and a house, at Monte Video. Bishop of Tucuman solicits leave to become one of them.

CONSIDERING the situation in which we left affairs at the Assumption, one 1732
might very well foresee every thing that happened there, on the inhabitants of it receiving an account of the execution of Don Joseph de Antequera y Castro, and Don John de Mena. From what had passed on the occasion in the Capital of Peru, it was but natural to expect, that things would be carried to a degree of fanaticism in the Province of Paraguay. Most of those who composed the Commune, even those who headed the Junto, had been accomplices in the crimes, which had brought Antequera and Mena to the scaffold; and as they must expect to meet the same fate, if they happened to fall

fall into the hands of the Viceroy, they resolved to die sword in hand, rather than expose themselves to the danger of it. The daughter of Don John de Mena had married Ramon de las Llanas, who died lately; and she was now in mourning for him. But, the minute she heard of her Father's death, she threw off her weeds, and publicly appeared in her richest cloaths, telling all those who expressed any surprize at her doing so, that it would be indecent in her to wear any marks of affliction, after receiving the news of a death so gloriously suffered in the cause of her country.

Nothing was to be heard but encomiums on the two pretended victims of Liberty; and it was immediately resolved to sacrifice the Jesuits to them. On this Occasion, Don Anthony Ruiz de Arrellano, who was at this time ruling Alcalde, behaved, at first, in a manner seemingly no way to his honour, for he was suspected of having kept this resolution a secret, merely to persuade the public he knew nothing of the matter; and that so extraordinary an action was the sudden effect of a popular commotion which he could neither foresee nor prevent. There has since, however, appeared ample reason to believe, that he, in fact, sought merely to amuse the Commune, in order to gain time to frustrate their designs; and he has declared it himself in an authentick act, at a time he lay under no temptation to disguise the truth.

The first thing he did was to go with the Alcaldes elect, and pay a visit to the Coadjutor. After saluting him with marks of the profoundest respect and the sincerest sorrow, they beseeched him to forget all the indignities they had offered to his character and person; and, listening entirely to his paternal tenderness, employ his good offices with the Viceroy to obtain their pardon, as he might assure his excellency

lency they were heartily disposed to yield him the most unlimited obedience, and receive any Governor he might think proper to send them. In short, they beseeched him to order a Novena in honour of the holy Patrons of the City, and accompanied by public acts of penance, in order to obtain from Heaven, through their intercession, the tranquillity of the Province.

WITHOUT calling into question Arrellano's uprightness on this occasion, we cannot but suppose, that the new Alcaldes meant only to amuse the Prelate and the Public by this application. It was no small comfort to the Bishop to see the three principal Chiefs of the Junto in such favourable dispositions; for it never entered his thoughts to suspect their sincerity. He promised and granted every thing they came to ask. The Novena began and proceeded in a very edifying manner; but the Commune made use of these holy exercises, merely as a veil to hide their preparations to execute designs of a very different nature.

NOR did they wait for this the expiration of the Novena; for, on the seventh day, being the 11th of February, on which Sexagesima Sunday fell that year, they held an Assembly at the Town-house, in which it was resolved, that within two days the Jesuits should be dragged out of their College, and embarked on the Paraguay; that all those, who had deserted the Commune, and the two Regidors, Cavallero and Añasco de Benitez, whose informations were thought to have contributed most to the misfortune of Antequera and Mena, should be put to death; that guards should be placed at all the avenues of the Episcopal Palace, to hinder the Coadjutor from stirring abroad; and that he should not be so much as permitted to shew himself to the people; that no one should be permitted to enter the Cathedral;

dral; and that it should be declared death to publish the sentence of excommunication and interdiction, with which the Prelate had threatened the City; in fine, that all their steps should be taken in such a manner, as to leave no room to suspect they had been previously concerted.

After this, two thousand horse assembled without the City; and, the 19th about noon, exactly two years and a day after the Jesuits had been received, as it were in triumph, at the Assumption, these troops entered the City; proceeded with great shouts directly to the College; hewed down the gates with hatchets; destroyed or carried off every thing they could lay their hands upon; and turned the Jesuits out with so much precipitation, that they had not so much as time to take their Breviaries along with them, and still less to remove the Blessed Sacrament to a place of safety, or screen the sacred vessels from the profanation there was too much reason to fear they might be exposed to from men, who now no longer set any bounds to their fury.

This riot was headed by captain Roch Insurrable, who added to those violences a great deal of abusive language, and died soon after, throwing up all his blood at the mouth. Thomas Lobara and Diego d'Avalos, whom the Commune had deputed to the Town-house, to leave the order there for the expulsion of the Jesuits, perished, likewise, much about the same time. The first was assassinated, and had but just time to express his repentance, and ask pardon of the Fathers of the Company. D'Avalos, more guilty, died of an apoplexy, before a Priest could be found to assist him. The Bishop, however, though closely confined, received notice of every thing that had happened, and found means to send a person to read to the rebels the sentence, by which he declared them excommunicated; but they stopt their

their ears not to hear it, thinking by that means to elude the force of it. The Prelate, moreover, wrote the ſame day to Father Jerom Herran, Provincial of the Jeſuits, the following letter, containing ſome particulars, which are not to be found elſewhere:

"THIS is, Reverend Father, the unhappieſt day "of my life, and I think it a miracle that it has not "been the laſt. I ſhould have died with grief at "the ſight of my moſt dearly beloved Brothers, and "my reſpectable Fathers, ſacrilegiouſly expelled by "the Commune, whoſe obſtinacy I found impoſſi-"ble to ſurmount by three ſucceſſive admonitions "of the excommunication contained in the Bull "*in Cœna Domini*, which were ſerved upon all "thoſe who adviſed, favoured, or executed, ſo enor-"mous a crime; by a general and perſonal inter-"dict, which I caſt upon the City and all the Pro-"vince, though ſoldiers were placed in the ſteeple "of my Cathedral, and it was declared death to "ring the bells. On the firſt notice I had of their "deſign, I ſent word to the Rector to ſhut up all "the doors of the College; but theſe ſacrilegious "wretches either forced them open, or hewed them "down with hatchets. I myſelf was inveſted with "ſoldiers in my own apartment, without being ſo "much as permitted to appear at the door; and I "ſhould have only expoſed my character by follow-"ing my inclination, which was to accompany my "dear Fathers; ſhake the duſt off my ſandals; and "abandon for ever theſe excommunicated miſcre-"ants.

"THE army of the Commune, when arrived "within a league of the City, ſent four Deputies to "me, two of whom had accepted this commiſſion "merely to ſave their lives and their fortunes, of "which they were, in caſe of refuſal, threatened to

"be

"be stript. They were charged to tell me, in the "name of these troops, that they were coming to "the Assumption, to drive the Jesuits out of it; "and that it was, therefore, proper I should order "them to leave it of themselves. I answered them, "that this exceeded my authority; but that I had "that of declaring, and actually declared, all those "who composed the Commune, notoriously excom-"municated. I gave the same answer to the Secular "Chapter, which came to give me the same advice; "adding, that on this depended the welfare of the "Province, and that it even highly concerned the "lives of a great many persons. I declared to them, "that I would sooner lose a thousand lives than suf-"fer the least infringement of the immunities "of the Church; that I had already, for many "days past, offered to God the sacrifice of that "he had bestowed on me; and still offered myself "from the bottom of my heart as a holocaust to "his Divine Majesty in so glorious a cause.

"But nothing could restrain their sacrilegious "fury, which, however, with all their menaces, "was not able to make any impression upon me. I "wish I had deserved what St. Ignatius the Martyr ex-"pected from a kind of men not unlike them; "*Utinam fruar bestiis, quæ mihi sunt præparatæ, &c.* "I remain without voice, for tears interrupt my "speech. Let not your Reverence defer writing to "the Viceroy, a single moment, and acquaint him "with every thing.

"*P. S.* Your Reverence may, if you think proper, "send the Viceroy a copy of my letter. I no "longer see any remedy to the disorders of the "Province. The Rebels have threatened to drag "by force out of the sanctuary, and burn, the "Priest who shall refuse to absolve them, even

"though

"though they should ask no pardon; to famish "the town, and ravage the Reductions. I beg "your Reverence may give notice to the Missionaries and Indians there to be on their guard, and "recommend to our Lord the unfortunate Joseph Bishop of Paraguay."*

NOTHING but a foreign war was now wanting to complete the misfortunes of that Province; and it is surprising how the Guaycurus came to be so long ignorant of the confusion that prevailed in it, or not take advantage of that confusion. At last, some days after the Jesuits had been expelled from the Assumption, these Barbarians gave it a pretty warm alarm. On this occasion, it was requisite to have recourse to the troops of the Commune; but they declared, that they would rather see the whole City laid in ashes, than employ their arms in its defence, unless the Bishop consented to take off the excommunication and interdict. The Prelate answered, that he was ready to do both, provided the excommunicated would take an oath in the Cathedral, and before the Blessed Sacrament, that they would never more violate the immunities of the Church. They complied with this condition; and the Bishop, after pronouncing the absolution, gave them to understand, that, the moment they broke their oath, they would again, and by the fact alone, incur the censures from which he but now loosed them. They promised every thing; but in such a manner, as afforded little hopes of their keeping their word.

THE Guaycurus, finding that preparations were making to attack them, thought fit to retire.

* It appears, by this and the following subscription, that the Bishop of Paraguay, to whom Don Joseph had been named Coadjutor, was now dead.

They no ſooner diſappeared, than the rebels having diſcovered ſome carts loaded with ſuch of the College furniture as had not been plundered, made ready to ſeize them. But the Biſhop, having received timely notice of what they were about, immediately repaired to the town houſe, to remonſtrate againſt ſo unworthy an act of violence; and got an order to forbid it. Within a few days after this, the confuſion increaſed to ſuch a degree, that it was often impoſſible to know who commanded. Accordingly, no one any longer acknowledged any authority, or yielded any obedience, but as far as it ſuited his inclination or intereſt. Don Martin de Barua, who no longer pretended to be Governor, the Preſident of the Junto, the Alfarez Royal Curtido, and the two ruling Alcaldes, had ſtill, it is true, ſome ſhadow of credit; eſpecially Anthony de la Sota, who ſupplied in their aſſemblies the place of Fernand Mompo, by the boldneſs with which he decided on every occaſion, ſo that his credit ſerved only to increaſe the confuſion. Arrellano, his colleague, appeared among them againſt his will; and never intermeddled in any of their proceedings.

It was even merely to avoid utter ruin, that he ſtill aſſociated with them, ſo that he, under-hand, prevented all the miſchief in his power. The Campmaſter General Martinez oppoſed, likewiſe, as much as in him lay, the boundleſs licenſe of the moſt ſeditious, and even openly diſapproved the violences committed againſt the Jeſuits, though by doing ſo he greatly hurt his credit, in ſo much that moſt of the military men required that he ſhould be ſtript of his employment. But he reſolved to be before-hand with them, in ſuch a manner, however, as to make them ſenſible that it was not in their power to depoſe him. For this purpoſe, he collected ſix hundred men upon whom he could depend, and entered the

City

City at their head; and then, when the Commune expected to ſee him take ſome vigorous reſolutions, he threw up his employment. He then retired to the country, followed by five hundred men; ſaying that he would remain there till the Viceroy had ſent a Governor to Paraguay, to put an end to the preſent trouble and confuſion.

His place was immediately filled up by Chriſtopher Dominguez de Obelar; and the poſt of Serjeant Major, vacant by Obelar's promotion, was given to Captain Francis de Aguero. Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, having ſome time before received notice, that the Commune were taking meaſures to make themſelves maſters of the Reductions neareſt to the frontiers of Paraguay, had given orders, the 30th of March, to the King's Lieutenant of Corientes, to ſend ſome ſoldiers to join the Indians, whom he had previouſly directed to poſt themſelves at the paſſes of the Tebiquari; and, in caſe the troops of the Commune ſhould attempt to diſlodge them, to forward two hundred Spaniards to make ſure of the port of Itati. But there happened to be little or no occaſion for theſe precautions.

The troops of the Commune were too raw and undiſciplined to wiſh to meaſure their ſtrength with theſe brave Indians. The Officers of the former had even aſſured the latter, in order to engage them to return home, that they did not intend to give them any uneaſineſs. But the Indians anſwered, that they would remain where they were, till he, who had ordered them there, ſhould order them to retire. Beſides, the Deputies ſent by the Officers of the Commune found them ſo advantageouſly poſted, that, on the bare report of their well-choſen ſituation, a ſudden pannic ſeized the whole party, who already thought they ſaw them at the very gates of their City. They even attempted to engage the

Bishop to send them an order to return home; and chose the Camp-master General to wait upon him for that purpose.

The Prelate, who had already answered a request of the same nature by saying, that it was only in their own defence the Neophytes had taken up arms, returned Dominguez the same answer; and, on Dominguez's having the insolence to give him the lie, he applied to the Magistrates to do him justice for so flagrant a breach of respect, as there was no Governor to do it. Soon after, however, Dominguez finding an opportunity to make the Bishop feel his power and resentment, he made the most of it. Don Joseph de Palos had lately received a letter from Father John de Arregui, whom we have already mentioned, to beg he might come to Buenos Ayres, to consecrate him; alledging, as an excuse for his taking so great a liberty, the strong desire his family had to assist at the ceremony. Don Joseph, willing to oblige Father de Arregui, was preparing to embark, when Dominguez engaged the Commune to oppose his departure, on pretence, that, considering the present state of affairs in the Capital, the Bishop's presence could not be dispensed with. But his principal motive for holding this language was the apprehensions he was under, lest the Prelate should take, in concert with the Governor of Rio de la Plata, effectual measures for bringing the Commune to reason; and indeed it is very probable, that this was Don Joseph's chief reason for granting Father de Arregui's request.

It was even suspected that the Commune had another reason for opposing the Bishop's departure; and the sequel of this history will shew that this suspicion was well founded. They wanted, it was thought, to draw to the Assumption the new Bishop, whom they believed to be in their interest; and, therefore, lest Don Joseph should attempt to embark

embark without giving them an opportunity to ſtop him, they took the juſteſt meaſures to prevent it. It is certain, that, had he penetrated their true motive for behaving in this manner, he never would have conſented to conſecrate Father de Arregui. But there are numberleſs things, which upright and well-meaning men can leſs foreſee and are leſs apt to ſuſpect than others. As, therefore, Don Joſeph could not leave the Aſſumption, he wrote to Father de Arregui, that, if he could not defer his conſecration, he muſt repair to the Aſſumption for that purpoſe.

In the mean time, the Neophytes poſted at the paſſes of the Tebiquari were very uneaſy at not ſeeing any appearance of the two hundred Spaniards, who were to ſecure Itati; but they ſoon heard the reaſon of it. A treaty of aſſociation, which the Commune of Paraguay had been for ſome time paſt negotiating with the town of Corrientes, had been juſt concluded; and the inhabitants of the latter had choſen to declare themſelves the very moment, that the King's Lieutenant was going to draught the two hundred men he had orders to ſend to Itati. Nay, they went ſo far as to bind him hand and foot, and ſend him in this condition to their friends at the Aſſumption.

They had even the inſolence to ſend Deputies to Buenos Ayres, to acquaint Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, that what they had done was for his Majeſty's intereſt; that they made no doubt, not only of his Majeſty's approving it, but of his confirming the new form of Government they had eſtabliſhed in the name and by the authority of the Commune, as likewiſe the Officers they had choſen; and leave the Republick at liberty to depoſe them, and put others in their places, when they ſhould judge it requiſite for his Majeſty's ſervice. All this time they could not be ignorant of their

Governor's way of thinking, as not to know how much they had to fear from him. But they depended on being powerfully assisted by the Commune; and, in fact, they soon received from them two barks full of soldiers and military stores, which so well concerted a project for putting them in a condition to make themselves masters of the Marsh of Neambucu that it must have infallibly succeeded, were it not for the vigilance and alertness of the Neophytes, who were before-hand with them in taking possession of this important post.

The Commune doubted so little of the success of this enterprize, that the Camp-master General began to flatter himself, that these Indians, seeing their retreat cut off, would turn all their thoughts to their towns, by this means exposed to the discretion of the Commune's forces; and thereby afford an easy opportunity to disperse them. He, therefore, put himself at the head of two thousand men, and encamped pretty near them. But, as they no longer apprehended any thing on the side of the Marsh, whose avenues were all very well guarded, they made no motion till the fifteenth of May, that a detachment they sent in the night time over the river fell upon the van-guard of the Camp-master General, and carried off, without the least resistance, a body of three hundred horse. This struck so great a terror into the rest, that Dominguez, unable to rally the runaways, found himself under a necessity of following them to the Assumption. The Neophytes pursued them for some time, and two of them were bold enough to proceed to the very walls, and reconnoitre all the roads leading to it.

News now came, that the Viceroy had named to the Government of Paraguay, Don Isidore de Mirones Benavente, Oydor of the Royal Audience of Charcas, who had lately given great proofs of his

prudence

prudence and capacity, by pacifying the Province of Cochabamba. It was even reported, that he was already making forced marches towards the Capital. In fact, he had already reached Tucuman, when he was overtaken by a Courier sent after him by the Viceroy, to let him know, that the King had disposed of the Government of Paraguay, in favour of Don Manuel Augustin de Ruiloba, Captain General of Callao. The Viceroy had even already sent Don Manuel his commission, with orders to set out directly, and write to the Governor of Rio de la Plata, that, on his arrival at Buenos Ayres, he might find in readiness the forces, which Don Bruno had orders to supply him with, to enable him the better to reduce the Paraguay rebels.

As it was the Provincial of the Jesuits, who had informed the Viceroy of the last excesses committed by the Commune, in obedience to the Bishop of Paraguay, and likewise of the revolt of the Inhabitants of Corrientes, this nobleman, in his answer to the Provincial, informed him of the measures he was taking to remedy so many disorders; acquainted him with the new Governor's departure; and recommended to him to let him have as many Indians as he might want to execute the orders, with which he was intrusted.

"THE letter, that accompanies this, (says he in the "conclusion) and is addressed to the most excellent "Lord Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, contains "all that he is to do, that Don Manuel Augustin de "Rueloba may find every thing ready, and may be "able to act immediately on his arrival. Forward "my letter by the surest and shortest conveyance, "that it may get the sooner into the hands of the "said Lord Don Bruno, as his Majesty's service "requires. Communicate, likewise, every thing I

"write you to my Lord Bishop; and, at the "same time, let him know, how much I am charmed "ed with his conduct, and the zeal he has shown for "his Majesty's service. May the Lord preserve "your Reverence many years, which is what I "wish, &c."

The same packet contained the following piece.

"In the City of Los Reyes of Peru, the 24th "of June 1732, were present in the Royal Hall of "Justice, the most excellent Lord Don Joseph de "Armandaris, Marquis of Castel Fuerte, Lieutenant "nant General of the King's Armies, whom God "preserve, Viceroy, Governor, and Captain General "of his kingdoms of Peru; and the Lords Don "Joseph de la Concha, Marquis of Casa-Concha, "Don Alvarez de Navia Bolanos and Moscoso, Don "Alvarez Cavero, Don Alvarez Quiros, Don Gaspar "par Perez Buelta, Don Joseph Ignatius de Aviles, "President and Oydors of this Royal Audience; "and the Lord Don Lawrence Anthony de la Puente, "ente, his Attorney General in civil affairs; when, "after hearing the different pieces and papers concerning "cerning the troubles of Paraguay, and deliberating "maturely on the importance of the facts contained "in them, it was resolved to beseech his Excellency "to enjoin the Father Provincial of the Company of "Jesus in Paraguay, or, in his absence, the Father who "governs the nearest Missions of the said Province "of Paraguay, to supply directly his Lordship Don "Bruno Maurice de Zavala, or Don Manuel Augustin "tin de Ruiloba, Governor of Paraguay, with as "many well-armed Indians of the Tape and other "Reductions as they may require, to oblige the rebels "to return to their duty; and to execute the resolutions "tions which his Excellency has taken by the advice "vice of the Council. His Excellency has compli-

'ed with this advice; and, jointly with the ſaid Lords, 'has ſigned the preſent letter.

Don Manuel Fernandes de Paredes " firſt Secretary of the Council for civil and " military affairs."

As ſoon as Don Joſeph de Palos received an account of theſe preparations and orders, he did all that lay in his power to ſmooth the way for the new Governor. He applied to the Camp-maſter Montiel, Don Miguel his brother, Don Bernardin Martinez, and ſome others, to aſſemble a body of troops ſufficient to keep the Commune in awe, and found them in the happieſt diſpoſitions; but what gave him ſtill greater hopes of compaſſing his deſign, was the diviſion which ſtill reigned among the rebels.

The heads of the Commune, who got the wind of the Biſhop's deſign, immediately ſaw all they had to fear from the ſucceſs of it, and the neceſſity of oppoſing to him ſome perſon, who might balance his authority. The Prelate on his ſide, now better informed of Father de Arregui's diſpoſitions, began to repent his having offered to conſecrate him, if he came to the Aſſumption. But, as he flattered himſelf the Governor would arrive with ſufficient forces to contain the factious, he did not think proper to recall his word; and the Commune did all that lay in their power to haſten the coming of this Religious, as they hoped to derive the greateſt advantages from his preſence.

What gave them moſt trouble was, to ſee the Neophytes encamped on the frontiers, and in conſtant readineſs to enter the Province on the firſt notice. After trying in vain various methods to oblige them to return home, from whence it was given out in the City they were come merely by the orders of the Jeſuits, they took it into their heads to write to the Governor of

of Rio de la Plata, that they every where committed the greatest disorders, and that it was the unanimous request of the whole Province to be freed from these Barbarians. Don Bruno contented himself with answering, that he could not comply with their request 'till the arrival of the new Governor sent to Paraguay by his Majesty, whom he daily expected.

This answer threw the Commune into despair, and made them resolve to use their utmost effort to get rid of the Indians; chusing, they said, to perish in fighting for their liberties, rather than run the risk of being murdered with their wives and children by Barbarians governed and led on by Jesuits. These Indians, on their side, wished for nothing more ardently than to see themselves authorized to take revenge for their loss at the battle of the Tebiquari, since which a great number of their brethren groaned under the slavery of the Spaniards. But, some time after, the Commune made a proposal for exchanging them against the Spaniards whom they had taken in the action we just now mentioned; and the Indians consented to it.

The Bishop thought this a favourable conjuncture for offering his mediation to the Commune, and they accepted it. Upon this, the Junto published an order, on pain of death, not to molest the Indians, as the Bishop had required; on condition, however, that they should fall back some leagues. This the Indians did, out of respect to the Prelate, and promised, besides, to undertake nothing without express orders from the Governor of Rio de la Plata. It was even agreed, that both parties might treat further with each other, when it should be judged requisite; and this agreement was no sooner signed than the troops of the Commune, who were already on their march towards the frontiers, were recalled to the Assump-

tion;

tion; and the Neophytes, on their side, removed their camp to the Aguapay, where they could give no umbrage to the Spaniards; yet, besides being in no danger of being surprized, were at hand to support their Reductions in case of attack.

They gave advice of this convention to Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, who answered them, the 29th of September, that he approved every thing they had done; and that, for the future, they were to govern themselves by the orders they should receive from the new Governor of Paraguay. In the mean time, Don Joseph de Palos found that he was greatly mistaken in considering the accommodation, which he had just negotiated, as a means of hastening the pacification of the Province. It soon appeared more agitated than ever. All the laws both human and divine were trampled under foot, and every day brought forth some new monster. While things were in this situation, Father de Arregui arrived, and was received by the Commune with transports of joy, which served not a little to prejudice against him the few faithful Subjects, which his Majesty had still left in this unhappy City.

The day after his arrival, he proposed, in an Assembly of the Commune, to exchange his Bishoprick against that of the Assumption; adding, that, as Don Joseph de Palos was not liked by the greatest part of his Diocese, he would certainly much rather be Bishop of Buenos Ayres. The Treasurer of the Chapter and the Curate of the Cathedral applauded this proposal; the President of the Junto and the other Officers expressed great joy at it; and, in a short time, the whole Commune cried out, that they would have Don John de Arregui for Bishop. Endeavours, therefore, were immediately used to engage Don Joseph de Palos to consent to exchange. But he absolutely refused it, and declared to Don John

John de Arregui, who had made the proposal without asking his advice, that, if he did not put a stop to the tumult his inconsiderateness had occasioned, he would not only not consecrate him, but excommunicate those who had excited it, and lay the whole City under an interdict.

THIS firmness of Don Joseph staggered Father de Arregui, and immediately brought to his mind all the consequences, with which so unwarrantable a step might be attended. He, therefore, spoke to the heads of the Commune; and, as no more clamours were heard, Don Joseph de Palos consecrated him. But, instead of going home to govern his Diocese, he continued, under various pretences, at the Assumption, where his presence greatly increased the insolence of the Commune, by the approbation he pretty openly bestowed on their proceedings. He did not even always observe the rules of common decency in doing so, but permitted the Commune's prosperity to be publicly toasted at his table; and always spoke of it with honour. This lasted till news arrived that the new Governor was on his way to the Assumption; for then every one began to think for himself; and some of the Chiefs of the Junto voted to receive him, against the sentiment of all the other members.

ARRELLANO, who was now at the head of this tribunal, and who for a long time past associated with the Commune merely through a principle of fear and interest, was bold enough to declare, that he was resolved to go as far as Santafe, to meet the Governor. The Commune, not doubting but that it was to make his peace, gave orders to prevent his leaving the city. But he had been a long time preparing for his evasion, and so found means to embark, unperceived, with the best part of his effects. On his arrival at Santafe, he was greatly surprized

not

not to find the Governor there; and resolved to go and wait for him at Buenos Ayres, where he was still more surprized to hear that he was not as yet arrived.

As the Commune no longer reckoned upon him, they proceeded to the election of a new President for the Junto; and, the choice happening to fall on the Camp-master General Don Christopher Dominguez de Obelar, they at the same time declared him first Alcalde for the ensuing year; and, resolved as they were not to submit, they could do nothing better than throw all their authority into the hands of him among their Chiefs, upon whom they could place the greatest dependance. They had, however, written another letter to the Governor, to acquaint him; yet without slackening their preparations to oppose his reception. These preparations consisted in deposing the Officers they entertained any suspicion of; and a letter, they received from Arrellano, made them redouble their attention for that purpose.

This Officer informed them, that they never had more occasion to be upon their 1733
guard; and that the Viceroy had given the new Governor the most ample powers and the most positive orders to take informations against all those, who had contributed to the troubles of the province. Some remains of affection for the Commune was, probably, his motive for giving them this notice, at the same time that he was taking the properest measures to secure himself an interest in the Superior Courts of Justice; as he found himself in a situation, in which he thought he had little to hope, on the one hand; and a great deal to fear, on the other. Be that as it will, the Commune suspected him too much to benefit by his advice. So early as the month of January 1733, it had split into two factions,

one

one of which wanted to depose the new President, whom the other maintained; and blows, perhaps, would have ensued, had not the two Bishops the good fortune to make them agree to a kind of truce. But this was only smothering the fire a little; for it broke out again in the month of April, and the Capital was on the point of becoming a field of battle, when the Bishop of the Diocese again found means to restrain their fury. His endeavours, however, we may reasonably conclude, were not a little helped by the near approach of the Governor, the news of whose arrival at Itati soon reached the Assumption.

From this place he wrote, the 6th of July, a letter to Father d'Aguilar, Superior of the Parana Reductions, to order him, in the Viceroy's name, not only to leave his Neophytes, who amounted to seven thousand men, in the post they occupied, but to array, in all the Reductions, all those capable of bearing arms, and hold them in readiness to march on the first notice he should send them for that purpose. Father d'Aguilar answered, that these orders had already been communicated to him by his Provincial, Father Herran; and that, cost what it would, they should be punctually obeyed. Father d'Aguilar had great reason to say, "cost what it would;" for it really cost both the Missionaries and their flocks a great deal to keep in the field, for so long a time, so numerous a body. Their absence had put a stop to all manner of field labour, and thereby occasioned a dreadful famine, attended with epidemical disorders, which swept away more souls than had been sent into the field for the King's service. Besides, the frequent menaces of the Commune had frightened great numbers into the woods. In one day, between four and five hundred Tobatines, lately drawn out of their forests, fled back to them. Even several of the old Christians buried themselves in the mountains, in quest

of proviſions. The perplexities, vexations, and fatigues of the Miſſionaries, amidſt ſo many calamities, are not to be deſcribed. The only comfort they had was, that ſo many evils did not impair the zeal of their Neophytes for the King's ſervice; and that the trials, to which God permitted their loyalty to be put, made no impreſſion on any except the Tobatines, who were as yet but proſelytes, and whom means were afterwards found to bring back to the fold.

While theſe brave Indians thus oppoſed to the fury of the Commune a dike, which all their efforts could not overcome, a Friar undertook to juſtify all their crimes, by a manifeſto, in which he ſpared neither the Governor, nor the Biſhop, nor the Viceroy; and ſtill leſs the Jeſuits, whoſe expulſion, according to him, was an unanſwerable proof of their zeal for the ſervice of God and the King. Notwithſtanding the virulence and indecency of this piece, the character with which its author was inveſted, and the confidence with which he advanced the moſt odious facts, made ſome impreſſion on the multitude, who had, by this time, loſt all notions of ſubordination, ſo that Father d'Aguilar thought himſelf bound to take up his pen to refute it.

His anſwer, to which he gave the title of "Examination of the truth," was ſo much the better received by all honeſt men, as he contrived to unite moderation with truth in it; and, without amuſing himſelf to recriminate, as he might very eaſily have done, ſhewed that this piece ſuppoſed every thing, and proved nothing; and that the indecency, ſo conſpicuous in it from beginning to end, was alone ſufficient to deſtroy the teſtimony of the perſon who owned it as his work. If this apology did not altogether cure, ſeveral perſons being too blind to ſee, it at leaſt ſtopt the progreſs of the evil. The applauſe of thoſe, whoſe eyes were ſtill open to truth, gave

gave it a great run, not only in the neighbouring Provinces of Peru and Chili; but even in Old Spain. The Friar had not courage enough to reply; and the Viceroy obliged his Superiors to recall him to Peru, to be puniſhed there as he deſerved. But he, ever willing to execute juſtice on him under the eyes of thoſe, who had been witneſſes to his ſcandalous behaviour, did not allow him time to repair there. He was ſtruck with a diſorder, which rendered him inſupportable to himſelf and to every one elſe; and, in a ſhort time, brought him to the grave.

But, to return to the new Governor of Paraguay; after a ſhort ſtay at Itati, he repaired to the Reduction of St. Ignatius, where the chiefs of the Indians encamped on the borders of the Aquapay came to pay their reſpects to him, and were moſt graciouſly received. He beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on their unſhaken loyalty, and recommended to them to remain in their camp, till he ſhould acquaint them with his further intentions. He then advanced as far as the Tebiquari, where he found before him ſome deputies from the ſecular chapter of the Aſſumption, who were come to compliment him; and, likewiſe, Don Sebaſtian Fernandez Montiel, who came to make proteſtations of the moſt inviolable attachment to the King's ſervice; and the moſt unreſerved obedience to all the orders the Governor himſelf might think proper to give him. The Biſhop of Buenos Ayres came next, and was ſoon followed by the Preſident of the Junto, attended by the leading members of the Commune at the head of all the Militia. Don Joſeph de Palos thought proper to continue in the Capital, to avoid giving the factious any room to ſuſpect, that he wanted to prejudice the Governor againſt them.

The 27th of July, the Governor made his public entry into the Capital; and every thing paſſed on the

the occasion, according to his wishes. After thanking God in the Cathedral for his safe arrival, and imploring the continuance of his protection, he stopt under the porch, and made a very affecting discourse to the inhabitants. He exhorted the secular chapter not to deviate from the obedience due to the superior tribunals, especially as they should be the first to give the example. He then spoke to the army; and endeavoured to convince all the inhabitants in general, that the association, under the name of the Commune, was a downright rebellion, and forbid this odious name to be so much as pronounced for the future; or any of these unlawful assemblies to be held, in which so many resolutions had been taken contrary to that submission and respect, which subjects owe their Sovereign. All present listened to him with the greatest attention, and seemed to vye with each other, who should render him the greatest honours; notwithstanding which he seems to have built a little too much on their sincerity.

The very same day, all the military Officers waited upon him with their commissions, but he refused to receive any of them, alledging, that he was not as yet well enough acquainted with the Province to make any alterations in it. Some days after he issued out a proclamation, threatening with the confiscation of all their effects those, who should keep up the confederacy under the name of the Commune. He then broke the Camp-master General and the Serjeant Major; put Don Sebastian Fernandez Montiel, into the place of the first; and Don Francis Cabanes, into that of the second; named Don Bernardin Martinez Commissary of the Cavalry; changed some other military Officers, and the Commandants of several places which it most imported him to secure. He re-established the Regidors Benitez, Cavallero de Anasco and Flecha; took the great standard from

Curtido, and committed the care of it to the first Alcalde; and then declared, that it was by express orders from the Viceroy he had made all these alterations.

He had received another order from his Excellency, but the execution of it required much more prudence and circumspection. This was to re-establish the Jesuits in their college; for, though he was provided for this purpose with a decree of the Royal Audience of Lima, signed by the Viceroy, he saw very clearly, that it was a thing that could not be too gently brought on the carpet; and he explained himself, in conformity, in a letter he wrote their Provincial, to desire he might take the necessary steps on the occasion. Father Herran, who thought the Governor spoke from himself, and merely through affection for his company, made answer to him, that this affair did not as yet appear ripe enough for execution; and, besides, that nothing could be lost by delaying it.

This the Governor himself found to be the case, before he received Father Herran's answer. For, on the first suspicion the inhabitants conceived of his intentions, they resented it to such a degree, that even the Bishop of Buenos Ayres found it impossible to make the Commune consent to it. The Governor, on his side, thought it his duty to have recourse to more effectual methods; and threatened the most refractory of them to recall the promise he had made to exculpate them in the informations, which he had orders to take and send to the Viceroy. This menace seemed for a time to have made some impression on them; but it was all a feint. As to the Jesuits, there was not one of them, that did not express a very great aversion to return to a place, where they could not expect to remain undisturbed for any considerable time.

Every

Every thing, therefore, conſpired to make Don Manuel poſtpone this affair to a more ſeaſonable opportunity, and to begin by eſtabliſhing his authority in a ſolid manner, eſpecially as the inhabitants ſeemed to be pretty well ſatisfied with him in every other reſpect; his courteous behaviour having perſuaded the greateſt number, that gentle methods were the only ones he intended to employ to pacify the province. He, therefore, reſolved to lay aſide all thoughts of re-eſtabliſhing the Jeſuits. But he was not ſufficiently upon his guard againſt thoſe, whom he had ſtript of their employments. Perhaps, too, he had been too haſty in doing it. It is, at leaſt, certain, that, though he declared he had done nothing on the occaſion but in conſequence of poſitive orders from the Viceroy, not one of the Officers he had diſplaced ever forgave him. The troops in general were, beſides, greatly diſſatisfied at his giving them Montiel for Camp-maſter General.

This he very well knew. But he imagined it would be all over with his authority, if he did not keep his ground. He even perſiſted in his reſolution, that the three Regidors he had re-eſtabliſhed ſhould immediately enter into office, in ſpite of all the repreſentations that could be made to him on the occaſion. But the worſt of it was, that, during theſe tranſactions, the Camp-maſter General and the Commiſſary of the horſe were obliged to ſet out; the firſt, for the frontiers; and the ſecond, for La Villa. The malecontents reſolved to avail themſelves of their abſence to take their revenge, and aſſembled ſo ſecretly, with all thoſe of their party, that, before the Governor knew any thing of the matter, all the cavalry belonging to the Commune had ſet out in order of battle for the valley of Paraya, where the reſt of their forces were ordered to join them.

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Don Manuel, as ſoon as he heard of theſe movements, judging that, if he permitted the evil to get to a greater height, it would be afterwards impoſſible for him to remedy it, ſent orders to all the garriſons in the neighbourhood to take the field; appointed the place for them to rendezvouz at; and, on the 14th of September, ſet out from the capital, with all the military men he could muſter, to put himſelf at their head. On his arrival at the farm of Alonzo Perez, being the place of rendezvous, he was ſurprized to find but three hundred men there before him. Several Officers, it ſeems, could prevail on very few of their men to follow them, the reſt declaring that they were already engaged to the Commune.

He had, however, men enough to oblige the rebels to return to their duty, had all his men ſtuck to their colours; a thing which he too much depended upon. For, having ſet out to meet the rebels, on hearing that they were but five leagues from him; and finding himſelf obliged, on the approach of night, to halt within two leagues of their camp, the next morning he had but eighty men left. His Officers, upon this, repreſented to him, that, as he was not in a condition to employ force, he ſhould try what gentle methods would do; and he took their advice. He, therefore, ſent to the malecontents, to know their pretenſions, and deſired to have their anſwer in writing. One of his deſerters brought it to him; and it imported, that the illuſtrious Commune was very averſe to a war, and would avoid it as long as they could; but, at the ſame time, inſiſted on having juſtice done them. He replied, that it did not become him to treat with them, while they continued in arms; and that he would liſten to them as ſoon as they thought proper to addreſs him in a more decent manner.

Montiel arrived, at the ſame time, with forty-five men, and gave him hopes of ſoon receiving ſuccours

enough

enough to bring the rebels to reaſon. But, after waiting for them the whole day, nothing appeared. The Biſhop of Buenos Ayres,* whom he had ſent for, arrived towards midnight; and did all that lay in his power to perſuade him to grant the malecontents all their demands; but the Governor anſwered, that it was inconſiſtent with his Majeſty's honour and his own to grant rebels what they required ſword in hand; that they ſhould firſt diſperſe and return home, and then, if they had any thing to offer, offer it as became them. As the Prelate could obtain no more from him, he took his leave, and ſent Dominguez de Obelar, who had accompanied him, to beſeech them to withdraw.

As ſoon as the Biſhop ſet out, the Governor took horſe, rode up to his men drawn up in two lines within ſight of the camp of the rebels; and put himſelf at their head with a cocked piſtol in his hand. At the ſame time, one of the rebels, called Roch Pareira, rode towards the Governor's forces, crying out with all his might, as ſoon as he got near enough to be heard by them, "Gentlemen, let all thoſe, who "acknowledge the authority of the illuſtrious Com-"mune, come and range themſelves under its ban-"ners;" and was immediately followed by all except a few of the principal Officers. But the Camp-maſter General Montiel, the Serjeant Major Cabanez, and another Serjeant Major called Don Francis Morono, Don Ruiz Quinones, Don Anthony Ruiz de Arrellano, who was returned from Buenos Ayres with the Governor, and the Captains Charles Spinola, and Francis de Roa, are the only ones, whoſe names have been tranſmitted to us.

Don Manuel, ſeeing himſelf deſerted in
this manner, uncocked his piſtol, and put it 1733
back into its holſter, ſaying: *Friends, the evil* 1734
is without remedy; we muſt yield to force. He had

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ſcarce made an end of theſe words, when the rebels came upon him from the right, in three lines, with John Gadea, Raymond de Saavedra, and Joſeph de la Pena at their head. As he ſaw them approach, he took off his hat and cried out, *Long live the King.* The rebels anſwered, by crying out, *Long live the King and may bad government periſh.* Theſe words were ſcarce out of their mouths, when Saavedra, being juſt cloſe to Don Diego, diſcharged a carbine in his face. The ſhot, however, miſſed him; but the report made his horſe ſtand ſtock ſtill. Upon this, he was ſurrounded by a body of horſe, who with the but-ends of their muſkets knocked him off his horſe. After this, one Gabriel Delgado ſplit his ſkull in two with his ſabre, whilſt others ran him through the body with their ſwords. This tragical event happened the 15th of September 1733.

Arrellano, having cried out to the rebels, on his ſeeing them fall upon the Governor, to beware how they attempted his life, one of them levelled his carbine at him; but it miſſed fire. Others were preparing to make an end of him, when the Biſhop of Buenos Ayres, who had put up at a houſe in the neighbourhood, immediately made up to the place from whence he heard the firing, and found means to make them deſiſt. One of them, however, would have run Arrellano through with his lance, if Dominguez de Obelar had not beat it down, ſo that he eſcaped with a ſlight wound. Montiel loſt his horſe, which received the blow made at himſelf. The Regidor Vaez was killed by a carbine diſcharged by Joſeph Duarte. Cabanez and Francis de Roa were wounded. But what ſerved moſt to diſplay the fury which poſſeſſed the rebels, was the unworthy manner in which they treated the Governor's body.

They began by ſtripping it ſtark naked; and they intended to have left it in this manner to the diſcretion

tion of the birds of prey. But Don Martin de Chavarri, coming up with an armed force, cauſed it to be removed to the Aſſumption. He would have laid it down at the Governor's palace; but the Commune would not ſuffer it, ſaying, that the Governor's palace was not built for traitors; and that thoſe, who had taken charge of his body, might go along with his ſoul to the devil. At length, the curate of the Cathedral, though a favourer of the Commune, thought proper to give it burial; at which, notwithſtanding, not one of the laity ventured to aſſiſt, except a Lady, called Iſabella de Ledeſma. Some of the rebels, having attempted to hinder her from coming into the Church, ſhe boldly reproached them with their parricide; ſaying, that ſhe was come to pay her laſt duties to a Governor, who had fallen a victim to his zeal for good order, and his Majeſty's ſervice.

After all, it is impoſſible to deſcribe to what lengths Don Manuel's murderers, and the people in general, whom the ſame ſpirit had ſeized, carried their licentiouſneſs for ſome days after this affair. They plundered the Governor's and ſeveral other houſes. Arrellano's houſe would have ſhared the ſame fate, if Dominguez de Obelar had not interpoſed. Yet this was but the prelude of what might be expected from men who no longer acknowledged any authority; and who, becauſe they had dared to do every thing, thought that every thing was lawful for them to do. At length, when they had given full play to their anger and avarice, they proclaimed the Biſhop of Buenos Ayres Governor of the province, and conducted him, with great acclamations, to the Governor's palace. They afterwards drew up informations againſt Don Manuel Auguſtin de Ruiloba, in which they charged him with the moſt odious crimes. They even undertook to force the Bi-

ſhop of the dioceſe to acknowledge Don John de Arregui for governor of Paraguay; but he ſlipt out of the City unknown to them.

Not only Don John de Arregui accepted the government; but the firſt uſe he made of his authority was to break all the officers, the Commune happened to be any way jealous of. He reinſtated Don Dominguez de Obelar in the poſt of Camp-maſter-General; and named Anthony Vaez Commiſſary of the horſe, and Pedro de la Mota Serjeant Major. Father d'Aguilar received together the news of all theſe diſagreeable events; and at a time he flattered himſelf moſt, that, as Don Manuel Auguſtin de Ruiloba had been received without oppoſition in quality of Governor of Paraguay, he ſhould meet with no difficulty in obtaining for his Neophytes leave to return home. Nay it was by them he received the firſt accounts of theſe tranſactions; and he and the other Miſſionaries had much ado to ſtifle their firſt tranſports, and hinder them from marching ſtrait to the Aſſumption, to revenge the death of the Governor.

Some time after, Father d'Aguilar hearing, that new diviſions had broke out among the rebels, wrote to the Governor of Rio de la Plata, to beſeech him to permit the Neophytes, who were conſuming themſelves to no purpoſe on the banks of the Aguapay, to return home; promiſing to ſend others to replace them, on the firſt orders his Excellency ſhould be pleaſed to give him. Don Bruno granted his requeſt on this condition; and this ſtep of the Superior of the Miſſions ſilenced the reports ſpread by the enemies of the Jeſuits, that theſe Religious intended to make uſe of their Indians to be revenged of the Commune, and ravage the whole Province.

The name of the Commune was now changed into that of *General Junto*, and the chief of it inveſted with the title of Defender. The firſt, to whom this

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title was given, was Don John Ortiz de Vergara, who, the better to anſwer the confidence repoſed in him, engaged the faction to take ſome ſteps, which they had not hitherto courage enough to venture upon. The Biſhop Governor would, at leaſt, have checked the impetuoſity of this torrent, but he ſoon found his authority too weak to do it. In fact, they only acknowledged him as Governor, when they wanted to give a colour of juſtice to any new enterprize, or corroborate their edicts, which they uſually preſented to him ready drawn up, and obliged him to ſign; a ſtrange behaviour this in a Biſhop, to leave his flock without a paſtor, and diſhonour himſelf, under the eyes and in the dioceſe of another, who had conſecrated him, by making himſelf the chief of a party revolted againſt their Sovereign, who had not certainly drawn him from the obſcurity of the Cloiſter to act ſo ſhameful a part!

The firſt edict preſented to him for to ſign was for confiſcating the effects of all thoſe, who ſhould refuſe to obey the King and the Superior Tribunals, as often as the intereſts of the General Junto were concerned; and he was obliged to ſign it. When the rebels had carried this point, they thought they might do what they pleaſed with him; and, indeed, well they might, after engaging him ſo far, as to make it impoſſible for him to retreat. They, therefore, propoſed to him to break all the Regidors, except Galvan and Garai; to name an Alcalde of the province in the room of Don Diego de los Reyes; who had as yet retained his title to that poſt; to give that of Alguazil Major to one of the ſons of Don John de Mena, to whom no ſucceſſor had as yet been named; to re-eſtabliſh la Villa in its old ſituation, and under its firſt name of Villarica, leſt the inhabitants, moſt of whom, ſince their tranſmigration, had continued faithful to his Majeſty, ſhould join;

join, as they had hitherto always done, the troops which the Viceroy might order to reduce the Province; in fine, to imprison whoever should refuse to acknowledge the authority of the General Junto.

These propositions appeared so extravagant to the Bishop of Buenos Ayres, that he immediately rejected them. But they returned so often to the charge, that, after persisting a whole day in his refusal to sign them, he at length yielded the following night. The signing of this decree by the Governor Bishop was the more remarkable, as the very same day, that he by it deprived Don Diego de los Reyes of a charge, of which Antequera himself dared not to deprive him, the Viceroy of Peru and the President of the Royal Audience of Lima, wrote to his Majesty, that, having taken seven years, to sift and examine the depositions against him, they had found him innocent of every thing laid to his charge.

The very next morning after the Bishop of Buenos Ayres had signed this edict, the General Junto proceeded to the confiscation of the effects of all those faithful servants, whom his Majesty had still left at the Assumption; and those who had not time to secure themselves were sent to prison. The Prelate, scared at the step he had taken, would have remedied the evil, by publishing a second edict to repeal the first; but they obliged him to suppress it, by threatening to put to the sword all those, whose lives and properties he wanted to preserve.

The man, at this time most detested by the Junto, was Don Anthony Ruis de Arrellano; and it is said, that, in consequence of the last edict of the Governor, he lost about twenty thousand crowns, besides his Negroes and the Indians he had in command; and that he was obliged to disguise himself as a Negro, to save his life. His wife and his son escaped merely

merely by the protection of the Biſhop Governor. Montiel and the Regidors Gonzalez and Cavallero de Añaſco were likewiſe obliged to diſguiſe themſelves, to ſave their lives; and all the Indians belonging to the inhabitants of La Villa, who oppoſed the tranſmigration of that place, were confiſcated to the profit of the chiefs of the General Junto.

There were now but few Noblemen left in this faction, the people having inſenſibly got the upper hand in all the deliberations, and aiming to eſtabliſh a kind of democratical government, in which ignorance and inſolence were to be the only rules of conduct. They were even within a ſtep of it, ſo that the moſt ſhort ſighted could already perceive, that in a ſhort time there would be no ſafety for any man diſtinguiſhed from the common claſs by birth or otherwiſe. The leaſt ſign of eſteem or affection for the Jeſuits was now conſidered as an unpardonable crime; and the moſt reſpectable Ladies, who dared to ſpeak in their favour, were treated in the moſt unworthy manner by the enraged populace.

At length, to deprive the friends of theſe Religious of all hopes of ever ſeeing them again at the Aſſumption, the Junto required the Governor to iſſue his orders for carrying off the cattle and other effects they had ſtill remaining in the country. They even intended to have demoliſhed their College and their Church. But, fortunately, they forgot to mention it in their requeſt; and it was conſidered as a miracle, that theſe edifices ſhould be permitted to ſtand in the midſt of an enraged multitude, whom the bare name of Jeſuit was ſufficient to inflame. After the Prelate had ſigned the edict which ſtript the Jeſuits of their effects, the Junto made him ſign another, enjoining the Miſſionaries to remove, to the other ſide of the Parana, all the Reductions that lay on this ſide of that river.

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Don John de Arregui, and those who had obliged him to sign this edict, did not consider, that what he enacted exceeded his powers; as the Indians did not depend, in that respect, on the Governor of the Province. Besides, he was not strong enough to enforce his orders. Accordingly, one of his friends thought it high time to represent to him, what indecent a part he acted; and what bad consequences he had to fear from it. Father d'Aguilar, who had been just declared Provincial of the Jesuits, wrote to him at the same time concerning the removal of the Reductions; and, likewise, concerning the proposal he had made to him of making a voluntary surrender of the effects belonging to the College of the Assumption. In regard to this last article, Father d'Aguilar represented to him, that he could not consent to any such cession; adding, that, as he himself had been a Religious, he ought to know it better than any one. As to the removal of the Reductions, he took notice to him, that it could not be done without orders from the Governor of Rio de la Plata, to whom his Majesty had transferred the Jurisdiction of these towns; and that he hoped, that these considerations would engage him to suspend, at least, the execution of his edicts.

The Provincial, however, was in no small pain about the success of his representations. He knew full well, that the Prelate could not hinder the Junto from proceeding to violent methods; and, at last, saw, that he had been in too great a hurry in asking leave for the Indian Militia to withdraw from the Frontiers, as, while they remained there, they held the Paraguay rebels in some awe. His sole resource lay in the Bishop of the Assumption. But the zeal of this Prelate did not give the Provincial time to implore his assistance. He had already written a very smart letter to Don John de Arregui, to intreat

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and summon him to recall his edicts, the execution of which he was resolved to oppose to the utmost of his power; especially as far as they related to the seizure of ecclesiastical effects. "As to the dismembring from my jurisdiction the Reductions of the "Parana, added his Lordship, which your most "illustrious Lordship wants to add to your "own diocese, you ought to know, it cannot be "done without the consent of the Sovereign Pon-"tiff."

This letter made all the impression that could be expected from it on the Bishop of Buenos Ayres. In his answer to it, he ingeniously owned, that the Defender of the Junto made him sign his last two edicts, without giving him time to examine them. Not satisfied with this, he immediately after waited on the Bishop of Paraguay, and informed him, with tears in his eyes, of all that had passed in his mind since the unhappy engagements he had entered into with the Junto. The holy Bishop wept with him, and told him, that he had never entertained any doubt of the uprightness of his intentions, nor of his actions being the consequence of his prevention in favour of a faction, which, however, had hurried him greater lengths than he could at first imagine; but that, after all, it was requisite he should apply a speedy remedy to the mischief he had occasioned.

Don John took leave of him without being able to utter a single word; and wrote to him the very same day, that he had consented to the publication of his edicts merely to prevent greater evils, with which a refusal would have been unavoidably attended; that, as it was no longer in his power, considering the ascendant the Junto had gained over him, to stop the torrent of evils which had deluged the Province, and, for which he could not doubt but he should be made to answer, if he remained any longer in it, he was resolved

resolved to repair to his diocese, and would set out as soon as possible. In fact, he immediately prepared for his departure; and, lest the chiefs of the Junto should retain him by force, he gave them to understand, that he was indispensably bound to make a tour to Buenos Ayres, though it were only to put into sure hands the memorials, he intended to transmit to the King and the Royal Council of the Indies, to justify all the late transactions in the Province. He added, that it was even much more proper he should draw up these memorials in his own diocese than at the Assumption, where it might be suspected he was not at full liberty to speak his mind.

The Junto gave into the snare, and the Prelate, after naming Dominguez de Obelar his Lieutenant Royal, during his absence, embarked in the month of December. The Bishop of Paraguay, who foresaw a great many things, of which he thought it did not become him to be a spectator, resolved, likewise, to remove to some distance. On his setting out from the Assumption, he gave out, that he was going to visit the churches of La Villa; and he, in fact, visited them. But he immediately after embarked on the Paraguay for Buenos Ayres, where he continued a whole year in the convent of his Order, without ceasing to raise his hands up to Heaven, and implore the mercies of the Lord on a people, who no longer listened to the voice of their pastor.

1734 On the other hand, Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala no sooner received notice of the edict issued by the Bishop of Buenos Ayres concerning the Parana Reductions, than he seriously thought on securing them against the enterprizes of the Junto. Accordingly, on the second day of January 1734, he ordered Father d'Aguilar to send towards the frontiers a sufficient number of Indians, to secure all the passes; and to hold a still greater number

number in readineſs to take the field at the firſt notice. Theſe orders were immediately executed; and the news of it greatly diſconcerted the Junto, who, on their ſide, were preparing to carry into execution the edict they had extorted from the Biſhop of Buenos Ayres.

A few days after Don Bruno had taken theſe meaſures, he received orders from the Viceroy and the Royal Audience of Lima, in conſequence of the murder committed on the body of Don Manuel Auguſtin de Ruiloba, to place guards at all the avenues of the Province of Paraguay, in order to hinder any perſon from going in or out of it. Theſe orders made it neceſſary to ſend a greater number of Neophytes to the frontiers. The ſame packet incloſed a letter for the Provincial of the Jeſuits, who ſoon after received a ſecond, dated the 1ſt of June, both containing the Viceroy's directions how to act, according to the various circumſtances in which he might find himſelf.

These diſpatches greatly perplexed Father d'Aguilar, as an almoſt general famine in conſequence of a failure of the uſual crops, and the epidemical diſeaſes, cauſed, as it always happens, by unwholeſome proviſions, rendered the execution of the orders contained in them extremely difficult. They were executed, notwithſtanding, with the greateſt expedition; even thoſe, on whom it was thought no dependance could be placed, having chearfully offered to take up arms; ſo that twelve thouſand Indians were immediately in readineſs to march. But Don Bruno contented himſelf with three thouſand, who ſcarce reached the banks of the Tebiquari, when the Capital of Paraguay reſounded with imprecations againſt the Jeſuits. The Governor of Rio de la Plata had ſent to the Indians a company of dragoons, commanded by a Lieutenant called Francis Cars, whoſe

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piety edified them the more, as few of those hitherto sent to them on the like errand had behaved in so Christian a manner.

The Junto, on their side, were in the greatest perplexity, on account of a division among their chiefs, first occasioned by the ambition of the Regidor Don Thomas Lobara. This Officer undertook to get the Camp-master General deposed, in hopes of obtaining his post for himself or his brother in-law Don John Ortiz de Vergara, who was already invested with that of Defender of the Junto He, likewise, wanted to get banished from the Province Don Alphonso del Gadillo, Treasurer of the cathedral, who, though he had been, as we have already seen, one of the most zealous adherents of Don Joseph de Antequera, could not dissemble his indignation at the excesses committed by the Junto. Now, as this ecclesiastick had still a great many friends, and the Camp-master General no small credit in that body, the Regidor's enterprize was on the point of kindling among the Rebels such an intestine war, as would scarce leave the Governor of Rio de la Plata any thing to do to reduce them.

At length, the Provisor of the Bishoprick, after making a great many useless efforts to put a stop to the disorder, ordered the Superiors of all the Regular Clergy to publish an interdict, and the Clergy in general to leave the City, in case the tumult did not cease by a certain day. Those threats had the desired effect. For, though they did not restore harmony, they prevented violence; the opposite parties shunning each other, to avoid speaking of their respective grievances and pretensions. Lobara's party had taken it into their heads, that the Camp-master General, gained by the Jesuits, had resolved to surrender the town to Don Bruno; but it was for want of knowing him well. It never entered Obelar's thoughts

thoughts to abandon the Junto; and, as he was a man of great courage and understanding, he found means to keep, in spite of all those who envied him, not only his place, but the principal authority in the city. It is true, that finding himself, one day, on the point of falling under the many attacks made upon him, he went to the Provisor, to beg him to engage Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala to hasten his march; and that, another time, he withdrew to the Fort of Tabati, on pretence of defending it against the Indians, who threatened to fall upon it. But this was merely to give the Junto uneasiness, and oblige them to sue to him, as a man they could not do without.

During these transactions at the Assumption, the inhabitants of it received an account of the Bishop of Buenos Ayres having been served with a summons to appear, in person, before the Viceroy and the Royal Audience of Lima; and soon after, of this summons being followed by a similar one from the Royal Council of the Indies. But the Bishop, being now upwards of eighty two, excused himself from obeying them on the score of his great age, which did not, he said, allow him to undertake such long journeys. In fact, he died soon after receiving the second summons; though, perhaps, less of age than vexation for the part he had acted in Paraguay. This is the more probable, as, since his return to Buenos Ayres, he behaved with great discretion and prudence; and even lived upon very good terms with the Jesuits, in whose behalf he seemed to interest himself on several occasions.

In the month of December of this same year, the defender of the Junto, Don John Ortiz de Vergara, fell ill, and was soon reduced to the last extremity; scared at seeing himself on the point of being cited to the tribunal of the Sovereign Judge of both living and dead, he, first, ordered by his will satisfaction to be

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made to all those, to whom he thought he owed any, in consequence of his acts of injustice; and his criminal enterprizes against his King, his Bishop, the Religious in general, and the Jesuits in particular; and then, with tears in his eyes, publicly asked pardon of all those he had offended. Not satisfied with this, he commanded, that this part of his testament should be read, with a loud and audible voice, before his body was put into the ground, and authentic copies of it sent to all those he had any way offended. This was, accordingly done by the Notary Royal, Mathias Encinas, a great partizan of the Junto, who, as this act was a condemnation of his own proceedings, read it with a faultering voice, and every other symptom of the greatest perplexity.

VERGARA, it seems, had incurred five excommunications, four of which were reserved to the Holy See; and, though we can scarce doubt of his having obtained the absolution of them before his death, the Provisor of the Bishoprick thought proper to pronounce the formulary of absolution over the body, while it lay exposed in the Church, after making a very pathetick exhortation to the assistants, many of whom were bound by the same censures. But, though they listened to him with the greatest attention, and some of them even appeared greatly affected with his discourse, and the spectacle they had before their eyes of a man, who had already appeared at that tribunal at which they must appear in their turn, and whose condemnation they must surely incur by following his example, they soon shewed, that they were not sincerely disposed to benefit by so striking a scene.

DON BRUNO MAURICE DE ZAVALA was, all this time, preparing for his departure for Paraguay; and was just going to embark when a vessel arrived from Spain with commissions constituting him Go-

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vernor of Chili, and President of the Royal Audience of it. But, as the orders he had previously received from his Majesty, in relation to the affairs of Paraguay, admitted no delay, he thought it his duty to make an end of this important business, before he went to take possession of his new dignities. He made no difficulty, though he was now very old and infirm, and had, besides, lost an arm, in Europe, in the King's service, to sacrifice his interest and repose to the service of the state.

It appears, by all we have hitherto had occasion to say of this Governor, that he was naturally of a most merciful disposition; and, though the rebels had already often abused it, he could not prevail upon himself to lay it aside; persuaded that clemency, free from weakness and supported by force, can never do any harm. After all, he had scarce any troops to oppose to the Junto, but the Militia of the Reductions. For, as there was reason to apprehend a rupture with Portugal, it would have been imprudent in him to weaken the garrison of Buenos Ayres, especially during the absence of a Governor, to whom no successor had been as yet appointed. Accordingly, Don Bruno just took from it an escort of forty foot and five dragoons.

With these he set out in the month of November; and arrived at Corrientes, firmly resolved to grant mercy to all those, who should put themselves in a condition to deserve it. If he did not find the inhabitants in such happy dispositions as he could wish, he soon, at least, brought them to a better way of thinking. He had reckoned greatly upon those of La Villa; nor was he mistaken; Don Sebastian Fernandez, who commanded there, having brought him eighty men, who had generously offered to serve at their own expence. In the mean time, some letters he received from the Capital deprived him, in a

manner, of all hopes of being always master to follow his inclination for gentle measures, by acquainting him, that the Junto, more furious than ever, were preparing to make the most obstinate resistance. From Corrientes he repaired to Saint Ignatius Guazu, where several inhabitants of the capital waited upon him with offers of service, and letters from some others, who, after excusing themselves for not having followed their example, assured him, that he would, on every occasion, find them loyal subjects. They added, that, if any of the heads of the Junto should happen to fall into his hands, he would do well to bring them to speedy justice; and he resolved to follow their advice.

1735. He then ordered a camp to be marked out for him, in a place called *St. Michael*, four leagues from the Tebiquari; and on the 25th of January 1735, he sent his first judicial summons, or rather what the Spaniards call an *Auto Exortatorio*, to be served on the Junto; saying in it, that he did not address it to the Magistrates, since he could not consider any of them as invested with lawful authority, but to the Dean of the Cathedral, and the Provisor of the Bishoprick, the only Ecclesiasticks with whom it became him to treat. These he required to exhort the heads of the faction, in his name, to return to their duty, and yield him the obedience they owed to him as to their Governor; promising, at the same time, to make them experience the effects of his clemency, of which he had already given them such proofs, as it was impossible they should have so soon forgot.

This act was read publicly, and listened to with great respect and attention. The most guilty, however, loath to rely upon Don Bruno's promises, left the Capital, firmly resolved, if we may judge by what afterwards happened, to risk every thing rather than

let him enter the Province. Don Christopher Dominguez de Obelar took another course. He set out from the Assumption, very well accompanied; and repaired to the Tebiquari, where he halted. Don Bruno, who soon heard of what he had done, sent, to desire him to bring him the other heads of the Junto. Obelar made a feint to obey; but it is probable, that he rather sent them notice of the order he had received, that they might provide for their safety. It was a long time after this, before Don Bruno could hear any thing of him. But he caused so strict a search to be made after him, that he, at last, got him into his hands; and, the moment he did, sent him prisoner, under a strong escort, to Buenos Ayres.

In the mean time, two hundred men had issued from the Capital, in order to stir up the whole Province, in spite of all the exhortations and menaces the Provisor could think of, to make them sensible that they were hastening to their destruction; and in spite of the excommunications he thundered out against the heads, and all those, who should follow them, when he found it impossible to stop them by gentle means. But they made a jest of his anathemas; and obliged one Francis Mendez, a man of above seventy, to display the royal Standard, which had remained in the hands of the Junto. They, next, opened the gaols to all the criminals confined in them; and marched, with some pieces of Artillery, to the Tebiquari, where they intrenched themselves.

The second of March, Don Bruno returned to St. Michael, where all his troops had united, and had brought him some prisoners. He, then, repaired to La Villa, where, pursuant to the Viceroy's orders, he caused himself to be received as Governor and Captain General of the Province of Paraguay. After this, he sent to publish, at the Assumption, an edict importing, that the army he had raised to protect the King's

faithful subjects was encamped at St. Michael, and strictly forbidding all persons to join the troops of the Junto, furnish them with provisions, or give them the least assistance of any other kind, on pain of being punished as traitors.

Having, by this, received intelligence of the rebels being at Tabati, he detached two hundred and forty-five Spaniards and two hundred Indians, under the command of Don Martin d'Echauri, Captain of dragoons, to attack them. This Officer arrived, the twenty sixth, within sight of their intrenchments; but, as it was almost night, he contented himself with blocking them up as well as he could, and making his party keep the strictest silence till day-break, when he resolved to fall upon them. But they found means, in spite of all his vigilance, to slip away in the mean time. Finding, however, that they had but nine hours march upon him, he ordered Don Bernardin de Martinez, with the militia of La Villa and some other places, to follow them. Martinez made so much diligence, that he came up with their rear; took a great many prisoners; and made himself master of their artillery, ammunition, and led horses, all which he left at Yaguaron, where he found Mendez with the Royal Standard, which he carried to the Assumption. At Yaguaron, he was joined by several Spaniards, and took some more prisoners, whom he conducted to St. Michael, where he arrived the second of May.

These advantages were sufficient to destroy the army of the rebels, all their chiefs, except six, happening to be among the prisoners: and Don Bruno soon got four more of them into his power, by offering a reward of five thousand crowns for the apprehending of them. The two others, who were Joseph de Gadea and Joseph de la Pena, had taken refuge among the Indians at war with the Spaniards, and made

made their escape into Brazil. The Governor caused the prisoners to be tried by a council of war. Thomas Lobara, Michael Zimenes, and Matthew de Arcé, were sentenced to be hanged; but, for want of an executioner, were shot to death. They desired leave to read with a loud voice, before their execution, a retractation, they had prepared, of all they had published, by word of mouth or in writing, against their Bishop and the Fathers of the Company; and the Governor granted their request.

It was judged sufficient to stigmatize several others by a sentence, which was made public; and banish them to Chili. These executions happened on the 15th of April, and were followed by the trial of Ramon de Saavedra, who had a principal hand in the death of Don Manuel Augustin de Ruiloba; and of Joseph Duarté, who had killed the Regidor Don John Vaez, and they were condemned to be hanged and quartered. They, too, made retractation to the same purport with those of the criminals already executed; and this mark of repentance procured them the favour of being shot to death.

Though the Reduction Indians, if we except those belonging to Don Martin d'Echauri's detachment, had not fired a single shot during all this campaign, their presence, alone, in the Governor's army contributed more than any thing else to reduce and disperse the rebels, who had already experienced what they were capable of performing. As soon as Don Bruno saw himself absolute master of the province, he hastened to dismiss them; but he first loaded them with marks of his affection and esteem. Besides, as he had been informed, that the heads of the revolt had sent a memorial to the Royal Council of the Indies, setting forth that the people living in the country could never be safe, as long as these Indians should be allowed the use of fire arms; and that, to give

the greater weight to this allegation, they had vomited the blackest calumnies against them and their pastors; and all this with such confidence, and such an air of zeal for the public welfare, as might make an impression upon persons who were not thoroughly acquainted with the accused or the accusers, he thought proper to caution his Majesty against it by the following letter.

"SIRE,

"THE indispensable necessity I was under of passing, in my way to this Province, through some of "the Reductions governed by the Fathers of the "Company of Jesus, has given me an opportunity "of seeing the deplorable condition of the three "nearest to the Assumption, which, till the breaking "out of the late troubles, were almost the most "flourishing amongst them. Their inhabitants are "reduced to the greatest distress; their number lessened two thirds, since I went through them about "ten years ago, on the same errand that brought "me back. Nay they must even want the commonest necessaries, did not the indefatigable zeal "and great œconomy of their Missionaries enable "these religious to feed, in their own houses, a great "number of orphans, who without such assistance "must have inevitably perished.

"THIS distress of the Neophytes, Sire, is owing, "on the one hand, to an epidemical disease, which "has raged among them for several years successively; and, on the other, to the continual threats "of the Commune, who, for this long time past, "have not left them at liberty to think of any thing "but their defence. To encrease my affliction, I "was given to understand, that the contagion was "gaining the other Reductions, notwithstanding "which, I found, on the frontiers, the number of

"their

"their Indians I had given orders to be posted "there, and which the Fathers who accompanied them "found means to subsist, by their great industry and "charity, without the least expence to your Royal "Treasury, till I had made an end of my expedition; "and I can assure your Majesty, that, if I have had "the happiness to bring back the Province of Paraguay to its duty, I must attribute my success to "the assistance of so considerable a body of Indians; "to the punctuality with which they obeyed all my "orders; and to the dread that seized the rebels, "lest they should use this opportunity to take vengeance for all the mischief they had suffered from "them.

"The principle authors of the scandals, which "have reigned in this Province, affect to think, or "would, at least, make others think, that it would "be your Majesty's interest to strip all the Indians "of these Missions of their fire-arms. But, in this, "they have nothing in view but to weaken them, "to be more at liberty to do as they please in these "remote regions, and remove every obstacle to their "making slaves of all these new Christians, as has "been the case with those settled in these Provinces, "whose towns, formerly full of inhabitants, look, at "present, like so many Hospitals with a small number of recovering patients in them. When first I "came into this Province in the year 1724, in giving your Majesty an account of what I had done "in it, I said every thing my zeal for your service "could suggest. I think myself still bound to take "notice to you, that, in such distant countries, it is "no hard matter to hide the truth from your Majesty, by holding up imaginary advantages. It is, "I think, my duty, as a faithful subject, to speak, "with the greatest sincerity, to my Sovereign, who, "considering the great extent of his dominions, can-

"not

"not be otherwise informed of what it so much im-
"ports him to know. God preserve the Royal and
"Catholick person of your Majesty, for the good of
"Christianity. At the Assumption, the 25th of
"August 1735.

"D. BRUNO MAURICE DE ZAVALA."

DON BRUNO wrote this letter a few months after his arrival at the Assumption, into which he made his entry the 30th of March, amidst such demonstrations of joy, as were too universal not to be sincere. To shew how sensibly he was affected by them, he immediately took off the embargo between this and all the other Provinces subject to the kingdom of Peru. The 2d of June, he declared null, and derogatory of the Royal Authority, the election of the Bishop of Buenos Ayres to the Government of Paraguay; and caused the entry made of it in the Corporation books to be erazed. He re-established the Regidors and other officers, who had been stript of their employments by the Commune or the Junto; and made the inhabitants proceed to the election of annual Alcaldes in his presence. He himself named the military Officers and Commanders of places; and he chose such only, as had rendered themselves worthy of promotion by their constant attachment to his Majesty's service. To conclude, on the 15th, he caused an edict to be published, containing Regulations for the speedy correction of the abuses, which had crept into the Province, since Don Joseph de Antequera had entered it. In short nothing could be added to the precautions he took to obviate every thing, that might again plunge the Province into the deplorable condition, from which he had just rescued it with so much prudence and wisdom.

THIS edict had been preceded by another, enjoining the restitution of all the effects taken by the rebels from

from those, who would have opposed their criminal attempts, or had refused to approve them; as, likewise, the reparation of the damages these effects had suffered. The tranquillity and dispatch, with which these orders were executed, caused universal astonishment. The delinquents themselves appeared surprized at the excesses into which they had permitted themselves to be hurried; and so sincerely repented of them, as to be beforehand with Don Bruno's injunctions. Gabriel Delgado, who had made the first stroke at Don Manuel Augustin de Ruiloba, having been apprehended during these transactions, the Governor thought proper that the new Alcaldes should sign the sentence of death upon him, and preside at the execution. A few days after, Placidus Rosa was hanged, and some others whipt by the hands of the common executioner. These executions were not attended with the least commotion. This last tryal, to which Don Bruno put the submission of the remaining partizans of the Junto, fully convinced him, that not only the peace of the Province was now restored, but bid fair to be permanent.

Don Joseph Palos thought so too, when he heard of all the transactions we have been relating; and, therefore, hastened to show himself again to his flock, as soon as he could expect to meet in them that docility he had so long despaired of. But he happened to be shipwrecked in his way up the river, and was saved with great difficulty, after seeing his secretary, whom he tenderly loved, and twentytwo more of his retinue, perish. This misfortune retarded him so much, that he did not reach the Assumption till late in the month of July. He was received by the inhabitants with the greatest transports of joy. He could not be surprized at that manifested by those, whom no fears or hopes could hinder from listening to his voice, and the state of humiliation, in which he

he found all the rest, and the promises they made of repairing their past behaviour with interest, sensibly affected him.

But what convinced him still more of the sincerity of these last, was to see them conspire, with as much earnestness as those who had always shewed themselves best disposed, to solicit the re-establishment of the Jesuits. The secular chapter had already made the first proposals of it to Don Bruno, after a general Assembly held at the town house, in which it was unamiously resolved that his Excellency should be humbly requested to grant his protection to the cathedral; and prevail on these Religious, to forget all that was past, and comply with the general wishes of the inhabitants, the soundest part of whom had been most sensibly afflicted at their departure. Even those most concerned in the late prosecution of them seemed to wish for nothing more ardently than an opportunity to repair their fault.

The Camp-master, Don Martin de Chavarri, the Serjeant Major, Don Anthony Benitez, and the Attorney General, being appointed to apply to the Jesuits, in the name of all the rest of the secular chapter, they wrote a joint letter to Father d'Aguilar, to beg of him to condescend to their wishes, Don Jeroma Flecha, Don Bernardin Martinez, and Don Mathias de Vanegas, were charged by the army with a similar commission. Don Bruno, who had received orders from the Viceroy and the Royal Audience of Lima to employ force, if it should be requisite, to re-establish the Jesuits, was transported with joy to see that asked of him as a favour, which he more ardently wished than any other person. He, therefore, immediately forwarded to the Provincial, the supplications presented to him on the occasion, and added to them a letter, from himself, requesting Father d'Aguilar to send off directly such of his brethren, as he intended to fill the College with.

Father d'Aguilar, duly affected by theſe marks of confidence and reſpect, immediately anſwered them in the politeſt manner. But, though in his letter to the Governor, he aſſured his Excellency that he was ready to do every thing he ſhould require of him, he took notice, that, as the defamatory ſentence of proſcription againſt the Jeſuits, had ſtript them of the credit requiſite to inſure ſucceſs to the functions of their inſtitute, and, beſides, ill meaning and ſpiteful perſons might be tempted to reproach them with it as long as it ſubſiſted, it ſeemed highly proper to him that this piece ſhould be firſt annulled and ſtigmatized. That, after all, he was willing to diſpenſe with this reparation, if his Excellency thought proper, as he was perſuaded the honour and intereſt of his company could not be truſted to better hands.

Though the Governor, and the Biſhop, who arrived during the courſe of theſe negotiations, judged, that ſufficient reparation was already made by the decree of the Royal Audience, ſigned by the Viceroy; by the ſupplications of the ſecular chapter and the army, who had therein condemned the expulſion of the Jeſuits *as an abomination and a ſacrilegious attempt, made in conſequence of a ſentence given by incompetent Judges*; Don Bruno, by an edict of the 12th of Auguſt, reſcinded and annulled all the informations and proceedings relating thereto; and ſent an authentic copy of this edict to Father d'Aguilar, who, as ſoon as he received it, ſet out for the Aſſumption with Father John Baptiſt Rico, named to the Rectorſhip of the College, and all the other Jeſuits deſtined to fill it.

The Governor, at the head of the army, and followed by the ſeveral companies compoſing the corporation, the Biſhop, with all his clergy; and the Superiors of all the Religious houſes, received them amidſt the acclamations of the people; conducted them

them to the Cathedral; and from thence, after a *Te Deum*, to the College, where, the next day, mass was pontifically celebrated by Don Joseph de Palos. The day after, Father Fernand Navarette, Superior of the Merci, performed a solemn mass in his own Church, where, since his being in that office, he had never omitted to solemnize, every year, the festival of Saint Ignatius. The Provincial immediately gave orders for opening all the classes, and recommencing all the usual exercises. He even ordered, that the Fathers of it should, for the future, give regular retracts, judging it the most effectual method to remedy those disorders, which the past troubles, and the licentiousness introduced by them, must necessarily have occasioned among the inhabitants. Doctor Don John Melgarejo, at this time Dean of the Cathedral, and aftewards Bishop of Santiago of Chili, founded a house entirely consecrated to this good work. Father d'Aguilar, on his side, declared, that he forgave those, who were not in a condition to restore the effects of which they had plundered the College; and forbid any prosecutions to be carried on, even against those, who were. He gave an account of this his behaviour to Father Francis Retz, his General, who answered him the fifteenth of July 1737, that he could not but commend his prudence and disinterestedness, and the zeal he had shewn to maintain peace, and keep up the reputation of the Company.

Don Bruno continued some time at the Assumption, the better to confirm the work he had just compleated; and, in this interval, named, pursuant to the powers given him for that purpose by the Viceroy, Don Martin d'Echauri, Governor of Paraguay; and, when he had established him in the exercise of his post, set out for Chili, leaving him, as a life-guard, the dragoons he had brought with him from Buenos Ayres.

It appears, however, that Don Bruno intended to call, firſt, at Buenos Ayres, where a ſquadron lately arrived from Spain, in order to aſſiſt in the Reduction of the Colony of the Holy Sacrament. I have not been able to learn any thing of the motives or particulars of this expedition; except that Father d'Aguilar received orders to ſend there a conſiderable body of the Reduction Indians; that they ſerved four months, though without any great opportunity to diſtinguiſh themſelves; that the place was not taken, nor even regularly beſieged; the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, as well, perhaps, as the Spaniſh troops, not reliſhing the enterprize; that Father Thomas Worle, a Bavarian Jeſuit, and one of thoſe who accompanied the Neophytes, was killed by a muſket ſhot, while he was performing the duties of his function juſt under the walls of the place; and that the Indians were diſmiſſed without receiving a ſingle farthing, though his Catholick Majeſty had given orders for allowing them the pay uſually granted the other Indians; and, which, probably, the miſery to which they were now reduced would not have permitted them to refuſe, as they had hitherto always done. Their ſtedfaſt friend, Don Bruno, died there, ſoon after his arrival from Santafé, of a fit of apoplexy, which robbed America of one of the men, who moſt contributed to the honour of the Spaniſh name in that part of the world.

The inhabitants of Buenos Ayres loved their Governor too well not to enter into all his views; and, therefore, knowing his ſentiments in regard to the Jeſuits, gave them, during Don Bruno's abſence from the Aſſumption, an inconteſtable proof of their eſteem. Buenos Ayres had, within thirty years, encreaſed conſiderably in buildings and inhabitants. There had, in particular, been added to it a large ſpot called *Alto de San Pedro*. But this new quarter, which was already become very populous, was ſo ſur-

ſurrounded with water in the rainy ſeaſon, that it could not then have any communication with the others; nor, of courſe, receive any ſpiritual or temporal aſſiſtance from them. Its inhabitants, much more earneſt to remedy the firſt of theſe evils than the ſecond, had been, for a long time, wiſhing, that the Jeſuits might be allowed an eſtabliſhment among them; but the difficulties attending ſuch an eſtabliſhment appeared inſurmountable.

At length, in the year 1734, a very rich Gentleman ſettled at Buenos Ayres, called Don Ignatius de Zavallos, having made a voyage to Spain, and brought back, with him, a very beautiful copy of the miraculous Image of our Lady of Belem, preſerved in the Hoſpital of the Palace at Madrid, depoſited it in a Chapel, he had built and reſolved to endow, in the quarter of *Alto di San Pedro*, in which it is probable he lived. His deſign had no ſooner taken wind, than he was ſolicited to ſettle two Jeſuits in it; and he not only conſented, but wrote to Father d'Aguilar to propoſe to him the foundation of a College there, promiſing to be, himſelf, at all the expence of founding one, on his return from Spain, where his affairs again called him.

The Provincial, having thought proper to accept his offer, immediately repaired to Buenos Ayres; obtained from the Governor and the Biſhop the neceſſary licences; built a houſe near the Chapel for the reception of two Jeſuits, who perfectly anſwered the expectations of the inhabitants. At the ſame time, the Biſhop, who was ſtill Don John de Arregui; Don Miguel de Salcedo, who had ſucceeded Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, as Governor of the Province; and the Corporation; wrote to the King for leave to erect this new eſtabliſhment into a College. Father Ladiſlas Oros, Procurator General of Paraguay, then at Madrid, who was charged to ſolicit this affair, eaſily

easily obtained his Majesty's letters patent. The College was soon finished; and Don Melchior Taglé added to it a house of retreat, which crowned the wishes of the inhabitants of this quarter.

The Port of Monte Video, which the Spaniards began to settle in 1726, was still more at a loss for spiritual assistance, than the quarter of *Alto de San Pedro*. One, therefore, of Father d'Aguilar's first cares, after he had been appointed Provincial, was to send two of his brethren to make a Mission there. God blessed their endeavours with such success, that from that time the commandant and garrison never discontinued their most earnest entreaties with the Provincial to engage him to accept a house among them, till, at last, with the consent of the Governor, he sent back to reside there the same fathers, who, besides the garrison, had the crews of all the ships from Old Spain, which happened to put in there, to administer to.

It was not at Buenos Ayres alone, that people seemed resolved to make the Jesuits some amends for the long persecutions they had suffered in the Province of Paraguay. We have more than once mentioned the attention of the Governors of Tucuman to second their labours within that Province, and their endeavours to propagate the gospel in Chaco; nor were the Bishops behind hand with the Governors. Of this we may judge by a letter, which Don John de Sarricolea and Olea wrote to his Catholick Majesty, in 1729; and by another he wrote, the year following, to Pope Clement XII, to obtain leave to renounce his Bishoprick, and enter the Society; or, if his Holiness did not think proper to give him leave to spend the remainder of his days in it, that he would at least permit him to die in it by making, at the hour of his death, the same vows which the Novices make at the expiration of their Noviceship. This last was granted. The Jesuits of Paraguay,

 however,

however, did not long possess a Prelate, who was a great deal more necessary to them in the place he filled, than he could be in that he solicited among them. He was soon after translated to the Bishoprick of Santiago of Chili, and then to that of Cusco in Peru.

BOOK XIII.

New services of Reduction Indians. Death of Don Joseph de Palos. Jesuit murdered in endeavouring to civilize and convert the inhabitants of Chaco. New attempt to discover an easy communication between the Provinces of Paraguay and Tucuman; miscarries through a total failure of water in the Pilco Mayo. Jesuits again honourably acquitted of new charges brought against them at Madrid, in consequence of the defence made by themselves, and the retractation of one of their principal calumniators. Letter from the new Bishop of Buenos Ayres to the King, concerning the Reductions. New decree in their favour. Letter of his Majesty to their Pastors; Printed, as well as the Bishop's along with the decree. Portugueze of Brazil attempt to open a clandestine trade, between that country and Peru, through the Chiquite Reductions. The behaviour of their Pastors, on this occasion, universally approved. Chiquites received immediate Vassals of the Crown. Testimony of the celebrated Marquis de Valle Umbroso in favour of themselves and their Pastors.

IT is now time to return to Paraguay, whose 1734
inhabitants had soon reason to fear, that they 1736
had not as yet appeased the wrath of Heaven for their late revolt. At a time they least expected it, the Guaycurus, and even the Mocovis, though the Governor of Tucuman was actually carrying on a smart war against them, entered the Province, at once, from their respective countries, and ravaged it to the gates of the Capital, too much weakened by the late troubles in it to make head against them. But the speedy approach of a body of the Reduction

Indians,

Indians, whom the Governor had sent for in his distress, struck such a terror into these barbarians, that they retreated with the utmost precipitation at the first news of it. This event alone was sufficient to convince the Spaniards, how much it would be against their own interest to attempt to have these brave Indians in command, since by it they might not only lose their best defenders, but bring upon their hands a more dangerous enemy, than any they had yet to deal with.

The joy caused by this delivery was soon allayed by a melancholy event. In the month of September of the year 1737, Don Joseph de Palos was seized with a fit of the apoplexy, and, though he received immediate assistance, found that he had not many days to live. In this condition, entirely taken up with the judgments of Heaven, he wrote to the King, who had consulted him in several points, and particularly concerning the memorial of Don Barthelemi de Aldunate which we have already mentioned, and that of Don Martin de Barua which we shall hereafter speak of. This letter may be considered as the last Will of one of the most holy Bishops America ever possessed. Though, in examining these pieces, he did not enter into particulars, he said enough to convince Philip V, that the authors of them had sought to impose upon his Majesty in every article.

1737
1738 DON JOSEPH died on the Good Friday of the following year, after governing the Church of Paraguay fourteen years, in the most melancholy and critical conjunctures, in which it was possible for a bishop to find himself. The important services he yielded both to the Church and state, and the infinite pains these services cost him, had engaged Philip V. to offer him a more considerable See. But, content with serving God in a poor Church, in which he every day met with so many contradictions, that

he might well call her a ſpouſe of blood, he never would be brought to think of leaving her for another; and he died in the very boſom of poverty.

This great man, in the letter of his juſt now cited, complained to the King of there being ſtill preſerved, among the archives of the town houſe of the Aſſumption, ſeveral decrees rendered during the late troubles, injurious to the immunities of the Church, his own reputation and that of ſeveral of his Canons, the Pariſh Prieſt of St. Blaiſe, and the Jeſuits; becauſe no orders, he ſaid, had been yet given to eraſe or burn them. But this was not the fault of the Magiſtrates, who, as ſoon as they had been re-eſtabliſhed in their employments, wrote a common letter to the King to the ſame purpoſe, adding, that Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala did not think proper to touch them without his Majeſty's orders; and it is probable, for my memoirs ſay nothing of the matter, that his Majeſty paid due regard to the repreſentations of ſo deſerving a Prelate.

The ſerious attention, which the affairs of 1731.
Paraguay had required for ſo many years paſt, 1738
had not hindered the Marquis de Caſtel Fuerté from extending his care to the other Provinces within his juriſdiction; and of theſe Tucuman was that which wanted it moſt. The Indians of Chaco had moleſted it of late years to ſuch a degree, that the inhabitants of Tarija, worried by perpetual alarms and inſults, applied to him, in the year 1731, for an order to ſome Clergymen to make a new attempt to bring them under the yoke of the Goſpel, as the only means of effectually making friends of them; and they were now ſo ſenſible of the great harm done by the notions theſe Indians entertained of Chriſtianity being the direct road to ſlavery, that they beſeeched his Excellency to engage the Jeſuits in this pious taſk, as the only Religious, who, beſides their having ſuch a known

 facility

facility in acquiring the Indian languages, which many of them already understood, could alone promise these Indians, in his Majesty's name, a full enjoyment of all their liberties. Accordingly, Father Lizardi, a Spanish Jesuit, and the Fathers Chome and Pons, both Flemmings, were sent to them, and had some success with the Chiriguanes, whom they first addressed, as the nation it most imported the Spaniards to gain over. But this success was of very short continuance. Father Lizardi and his Catechist were treacherously murdered by one of their caciques; and the few barbarians he had reclaimed dispersed beyond the possibility of rallying them.

1738 THIS disappointment, however, was in some
1740 measure soon repaired by the establishment of a very flourishing Reduction, called St. Ignatius, among the Zamucos; so much the more pleasing, as there was great reason to expect such an establishment might prove the happy means of opening a speedy communication between the Provinces of Paraguay and Tucuman. Accordingly, some Jesuits immediately set about that important discovery; but were obliged to relinquish the undertaking after two very laborious attempts; the second, which was made in the year 1740, was interrupted by a failure of water in the Pilco Mayo, even from its source; a thing which had never before happened. The City of Potosi suffered most on this occasion; all the mine-works in its neighbourhood were suspended; and several of the inhabitants removed to other places, from an apprehension, that the river had taken another course; but they soon returned when the river appeared again in its old bed.

1740 WHILE the Jesuits of America were thus sacrificing themselves to the service of Church and State in every part of that vast continent, their Provincial, and their agent at the Court of Spain, were

almost

almost entirely taken up in refuting the old calumnies against them, which were daily revived under such colours, as might impose even upon the most candid and wary. Accordingly, several members of the Royal Council of the Indies appeared so alarmed in regard to certain delicate points, that his Majesty, thoroughly convinced of the innocence of the accused and of their unshaken loyalty, thought proper, once for all, to bring truth into such a light as might dissipate all doubts and suspicions. But, to have a right notion of the manner in which his Majesty proceeded, it will be proper to look back a little to an earlier period.

IN 1715, a French Clergyman, who had, in his youth, made a voyage to America, in the service of the privateers of his country, and formed several schemes for augmenting or encreasing their commerce, made his appearance at the Court of Spain, and found means to get into the King's hands a memorial against the Jesuits of Paraguay; in which, after repeating such things, already advanced against them, as were fittest to make an impression on his Majesty, he laid down a method for remedying the evils, of which he pretended the Jesuits of Paraguay were the authors. Philip V, after reading this piece himself, and causing it to be examined by others, contented himself with causing the author of it to be told, that he knew more than him of the affairs of Paraguay. Accordingly, his Majesty confirmed, by a Royal Schedule dated the 12th November 1715, all the privileges granted by himself and his Royal predecessors to the Jesuits and their Neophytes. 1715 1740

THOUGH this rebuff obliged the Ecclesiastick to leave Spain, it was not sufficient to stop his mouth. On his arrival in France, he printed his memorial, in French and in Latin, that it might spread the bet-

ter, as in fact it did, not only in that kingdom, but likewise over the protestant states, in which it could not fail of meeting with universal applause. The Jesuits, however, not seeing any thing in it, that had not been already solidly refuted, and being informed, besides, of the contempt, with which it had been treated by his Catholic Majesty, gave themselves so little trouble about it, that they had even entirely forgot it by the year 1732; when, private agents, maintained at the Court of Madrid by the Commune of Paraguay, thinking it well adapted to persuade the Royal Council of the Indies of the uprightness of their intentions and their zeal for his Majesty's service, found means to get it into the hands of the Prince of Asturias. They flattered themselves, that, by representing to the young Prince, who was then presumptive Heir to the Crown, and now wears it with so much glory, the privileges granted to the Jesuits of Paraguay and their Neophytes (though granted merely with a view of securing liberty to the latter), as prejudicial to the Crown; and by setting forth the ill use which according to them, the Missionaries made of these privileges, they might make some impression upon him, and induce him to employ all his credit to obtain the recall of them. But in this they were egregiously mistaken. Don Ferdinand passed on this libel the same sentence his father had done before him; and rejected it with indignation.

But, as they had at the same time distributed several copies of it among the principal noblemen of the Court and the Council, it made so much the greater impression upon some of them, as it tallied pretty well with the informations laid before his Majesty by Don Barthelemi de Aldunate in 1726, and Don Martin de Barua in 1730; and it was this circumstance, which obliged the Jesuits to answer it. Father Gaspar Rodero, their Agent General for the Indies,

Indies, refuted it by a solid piece, to which there has not as yet appeared any reply. The King had, it seems, sent the memorial composed by Don Barthelemi de Aldunati to Don Martin de Barua, to know his opinion of it; and Don Martin, finding several things in it which did not square with his own views, drew up another, dated the 23d of September 1730, which could not fail of startling the Royal Council of the Indies, though it were merely on account of the article of twelve hundred thousand crowns which he pretended the Jesuits had embezzled of the tribute payable by their Indians to his Majesty,

THE heavier the charges made in this memorial, the more time and attention Philip V. thought requisite to examine them; it being of the last importance, as this Prince himself says in his definitive sentence of the 28th of December 1743, either to dissipate by the great light of truth so atrocious a calumny against a whole Religious order, or to make manifest the impardonable toleration of so considerable an injury to his revenue, contrary to the regard due to his Royal Patronage, and the obedience due to his orders. At length, this Prince, after examining all the articles of this memorial in an assembly of the Royal Council of the Indies, held in his presence the 21st of December 1732, ordered a Royal Commission to be made out for Don John Vasquez de Aguero, his Alcalde *de Corty y Casa*, to take on the spot, informations of all the facts his Majesty desired to have cleared up, pursuant to such instructions, as Don Manuel de Martinez, Attorney General to the Royal Council of the Indies should draw up, after conferring with Father Rodero, and Father Anthony Machoni, General Agent for the Jesuits of Paraguay, then on his return from Spain to that country with a numerous reinforcement of Missionaries;

1732
1740

onaries; and procuring all the other ecclairciſſements that could be poſſibly procured.

1736 His Majeſty's orders were all punctually
1740 obeyed; and Don John Vaſquez de Aguero, having received his inſtructions, ſet out for Buenos Ayres, from whence he wrote to the King, in February 1736, that, by conferring with Don Martin de Barua, examining the liſts of the Parana and Paraguay Chriſtians, the only two to whom the article concerning the tribute related, and the minutes of the regiſters, in the hands of the former Governor; as, likewiſe, all the informations taken by the Biſhops of Buenos Ayres and the Aſſumption; and hearing the depoſitions of ten perſons, both laymen and Clergymen, beſt acquainted with the ſtate of theſe Reductions, he had aſcertained;

1ſt, That theſe reductions amounted to thirty, in which there were about thirty thouſand Indians liable to tribute.

2dly, That the oldeſt regiſter he could meet with, namely one dated in the year 1715, and preſented to him by Don Martin de Barua, made the tributable Indians of the thirteen Parana Reductions, which had returned under the Juriſdiction of the Governor of Paraguay, amount to only ſeven thouſand eight hundred and fifty one; that the copy of another, drawn up, in 1676, by Don Diego Ibanes, Fiſcal of the Royal Audience of Guatimala, and preſented to him by the ſame Governor, made the reductions amount, in the ſaid year, but to twenty two; and that he could not diſcover the exact date of the foundation of the other eight; that, in 1719, when Don Pedro Faxardo Biſhop of Buenos Ayres viſited all the Reductions, they were thirty in number, and contained twenty eight thouſand ſix hundred families; and that Don Pedro confirmed in them thirteen thouſand ſix hundred and fifty ſeven perſons.

3dly, That

3dly, That, in 1733, the Jesuits had put into the hands of Don Joseph Palos, Bishop of Paraguay, a state of their Reductions, by which they were made to contain twenty seven thousand and sixty families; that, according to the list delivered into him by the Agent of the Missions, the number of families amounted to no more than twenty four thousand, two hundred and seventeen; in fine, that, in a conference he had with Father James d'Aguilar, Provincial of the Jesuits, in obedience to his Majesty's orders, this Father had assured him, that the number of Reductions actually amounted to thirty, and the number of tributable Indians in them to twenty four thousand; but that, having lately sent back for the Curates lists, he could find but nineteen thousand one hundred and sixteen; and that these variations were owing to epidemical disorders, which from time to time made great havock amongst them; and to the great number of those who perished in his Majesty's service.

Don John Vasquez de Aguero added, that, so early as the year 1631, the Jesuits had founded upwards of twenty Reductions, each provided with a very decent Church, and containing, in all, upwards of seventy thousand Indians. We have seen, that the Mamelus destroyed more than half these towns; murdered a great number of the inhabitants; and made slaves of a great part of the rest. Don John further observed, that, in virtue of the reiterated decrees of the Catholick Kings, the new Christians under eighteen and above fifty, the caciques, their eldest sons, and twelve Neophytes consecrated, in every town, to the service of the Church, were exempted from the tribute, which amounted to a peso per head; that it was out of the fruits of their labour they paid this tribute; that they had always exactly paid it, though, to enable them to do so, their Pastors were obliged to watch over them with the greatest attention,

tion, in order to make them stick to their business, and live with œconomy; they being naturally incapable of œconomy, and not over fond of labour; that the Governors, besides, frequently drew away great numbers of them for military and other publick services; that, in fine, were the tribute to be encreased, the impossibility of paying it might, perhaps, make them refuse to pay any; whereas they had hitherto paid it with the greatest punctuality.'

He likewise added, that the Jesuits had most earnestly pressed him to repair, in person, to the Reductions, of which no Governor, Commissary, or Visitor, had as yet taken an entire survey; that, to engage him to do it, they had told him, that, possibly, the Indian Coregidors, whose business it was to make out the lists, might not always have done it with all the exactness enjoined them; especially in times of famine and pestilence; and during the troubles of the Province of Paraguay, by which the Reductions had been great sufferers; that, as the Jesuits had so many enemies, it was of the greatest importance to them, that he should examine things with his own eyes, that they might not be charged with having imposed upon him; but that he had answered them, that his instructions did not recommend any such visit to him; and that, besides, he did not think it any way necessary; the depositions and other judicial pieces in his hands being more than sufficient to enable him to give his Majesty a faithful account of what by his commission he was bound to enquire into.

It appears by a letter, which Don John Vasquez de Aguero wrote, at the same time, to Don Joseph Patino, then Prime Minister of Spain, that, on his arrival at Buenos Ayres, a report had prevailed, that the Fathers of the company were going to be deprived of the direction of their Churches; for he observed in

this

this letter, that the Bishop of Paraguay had told him that, the minute this alteration took place, the Indians, to a man, would desert their towns, in spite of all that could be done to retain them; and that not only the Church would thereby lose a great number of children who did honour to their Religion; but his Majesty, all these Provinces; that of this there were unanswerable proofs; for that, as often as secular Priests were sent to fill the places of the Jesuits in any of the Reductions, the inhabitants immediately abandoned it. "And, indeed, my Lord, (he added) "it is past doubt, that the manner in which these "people are governed, is the best adapted to promote "both their spiritual and temporal welfare; and "that none is so well qualified to preserve and en"crease this Christian Republick, as those who found"ed it. At present, it costs them but little to insure "the eternal welfare of a great number of these new "Christians, and to encrease this number. They "engage them to labour by mildness; they procure "them all the assistance they stand in need of; they "correct them with gentleness and moderation; they "continually watch over them, to extirpate the vici"ous habits contracted before conversion; and I may "venture to tell you, that the introduction of the "least novelty among these Indians would greatly "disturb the tranquillity they now enjoy; destroy "the subordination which now reigns among them; "infallibly occasion such mischiefs as it would be im"possible ever to repair; and greatly hurt the service "of God, and his Majesty."

An event which happened at Buenos Ayres, 1737
about this time, under the eyes of the Commis- 1740
sary, contributed not a little to make him acquainted with the true character of those enemies the Jesuits had hitherto to deal with in Paraguay; and to put him on his guard against every thing he might

might hear to their diſadvantage. Don Anthony Ruis de Arrellano, reſolved to repair, to the utmoſt of his power, all the miſchief he had done during the time he ſhared in the violences and calumnies of Antequera and the Commune, made, in preſence of the Notary Royal of Buenos Ayres, a declaration of his ſentiments in regard to the Jeſuits, who, during that period, had a juſt right to conſider him as one of their moſt inveterate enemies; with a formal diſapprobation of the ſhare he had in the perſecution they had ſuffered; and this piece was made publick.

But, to compleat the juſtification of the Jeſuits, it was abſolutely neceſſary to refute the memorial compoſed by Don Martin de Barua. This Governor having privately diſperſed ſeveral copies of it, one of them fell into the hands of Father Gabriel Novat, ſecretary to Father d'Aguilar, who, alarmed at the calumnies with which it was filled, and the ſly turn given things by the author's malice, carried it to him. Father d'Aguilar, equally alarmed, immediately took up his pen to anſwer it; and having addreſſed his anſwer, which was ſoon finiſhed, to the King, put it into the hands of Father Novat, to be communicated to Don John de Aguero, with a requeſt to read it, and let him know what additions, alterations, or retrenchments, he thought might be requiſite, to render it worthy of appearing before His Majeſty in his Royal Council of the Indies.

Father Novat having, a few days after, waited on the Commiſſary to know his opinion of this piece; "I have read it, anſwered Don John, and re-read it, "and read it ſtill with new pleaſure. I don't think "it wants any addition, and ſtill leſs any correction. "It muſt be printed as it is. The Miſſions of Para-"guay have, in this ſingle piece, a compleat and un-"anſwerable apology. But, when you have got it "printed, you muſt procure ſome able Lawyer at Ma-

"drid

"drid to make an exact abstract of it, and lay this "extract before the Council, along with Barua's "Memorial. The Council will then, no doubt, call "for the piece itself, and will clearly discover in it "the nature of the Paraguay Missions, the present "state of them, and the calumnies invented by hell "to destroy them. My dear Father, I had concei-"ved a high opinion of Father d'Aguilar, in the "conferences I had with him by his Majesty's or-"ders; but this performance has greatly encreased it; "for in it he not only places truth in the strongest "light, but does it in such a manner, as to display "the greatest goodness of heart, and holiness of man-"ners, joined to the greatest talents. I am over-"joyed to have had the opportunity of knowing a "man of such universal merit."

The Royal Council of the Indies passed the same judgment on this piece; and several of its members expressed the strongest inclination to be acquainted with the author. Accordingly, when, some time after, a report prevailed of his being appointed Agent General to his Province, and being daily expected in Old Spain, a great number of persons of distinction expressed the highest joy at it. Another advantage produced by this memorial was, that, it having fallen into the hands of Don Cajetan Buoncompagni, Duke of Sota, and Majordomo to the King of the two Sicilies, he took it with him into Italy; and, having communicated it to the celebrated Lewis Anthony Muratori, that eminent writer took occasion from it to compose his work intitled *El Christianesimo felice nelle Missioni de Padri della Compagnia de Gieusu nel Paraguay*.

As this performance of Father d'Aguilar has met with so much applause, I shall give an extract of it; but as short as I can possibly make of it. Father d'Aguilar begins by observing, that, if Don Martin de

de Barua's memorial had been seen only by His Majesty and the Council Royal of the Indies, he should have contented himself with enabling Don John Valquez de Agueio to discover the falshood of every thing advanced in it to the prejudice of the Missionaries of his company. But, as it appeared by the author's making it public, that he sought less to give the King an account of their Missions, than to satiate his hatred of the Society, and stir up against it all the Provinces of that part of America, he thought himself at liberty to consider it as a defamatory libel.

He, then, takes notice, that Barua never mentions the thirteen Parana Reductions but as belonging to his jurisdiction, though he could not but know, that they had been put under Buenos Ayres so early as the year 1726. He, next, shows, how much Don Barua is mistaken in reckoning forty thousand Indians liable to pay tribute; and that all his reasonings on this head are equally weak in their premises and in their conclusions. For this purpose, he opposes, to the calculation upon which Barua built, another, for the truth of which he is not afraid to make himself answerable. In 1715, says Father d'Aguilar, when Don Gregorio Bacon, Governor of Paraguay, made out the list, upon which Don Martin de Barua grounds his arguments, the thirty Reductions of the Parana and the Uruguay contained twenty six thousand four hundred and eighty, men, women, and children; and, in 1730, when Barua composed his memorial, they contained twenty-nine thousand five hundred families, and one hundred and thirty three thousand seven hundred souls. The number of families never amounted to thirty one thousand; and, at present (in 1737,) it is reduced, by famine, sickness, and destruction, to twenty three thousand, as appears by the Rolls signed and sworn to by the Parish Priests.

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THE principle assumed by Don Martin de Barua, to prove that the Jesuits owed twelve hundred thousand crowns to the Royal Treasury, being thus destroyed, through an error in his calculation of their Indians, there might seem no necessity to attack the conclusion. However, as this article of his memorial had some relation to a tender point that could not be set in too clear a light, Father d'Aguilar took particular pains to discuss it. He shewed that all the propositions of this Governor were ill grounded; and proves it in so evident a manner; that Philip V. and his Council of the Indies, were surprized to find so much ignorance in a man, who had spent the best part of his life in Paraguay, and so little truth and honesty in an officer of his rank.

BARUA was not ashamed to affirm, that the produce of all the labour of the Indians went to the Missionaries, who, after giving their Neophytes cloth enough for their wear, disposed of the rest to their private advantage. The Provincial opposed to this odious accusation what several persons, who knew more of the matter than Barua could pretend, and had been eye witnesses of the affairs of the Reductions, unanimously attested. He cited, among others, Don Pedro Faxardo, Bishop of Buenos Ayres, who, after visiting all the Reductions, wrote to His Majesty, that he never saw any thing, in his whole life, equal to the management of them, and the disinterestedness of the Missionaries, who benefited in no shape by what their Indians had, either in point of food or raiment.

BARUA, supposing that the Indians in command pay but four crowns a head tribute, says, that His Majesty might content himself with two crowns a head from those of the Reductions, in consideration of their services to the state; those, he adds, under the jurisdiction of Buenos Ayres in particular; for those under that of the Assumption have

 not

not rendered it any, for several years past. It is, probably, rejoins Father d'Aguilar, because Don Martin de Barua imagined the King was not to give these last any credit for having so long guarded the frontiers of that Government against a party he favoured, and for having enabled, by their bare presence on the Frontiers, Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala to reduce the rebels in it to the obedience of their Sovereign. But the King knew what this service cost them. He had, likewise, received an account of their having secured this Province from the ravages, with which the Guaycurus threatened it.

Besides, had it been true, that, since a tribute had been imposed upon these Indians, it had been so badly paid as to leave the Reductions twelve hundred thousand crowns in His Majesty's debt; either they must have paid nothing at all since the year 1681; or must have always had a greater number of inhabitants liable to tribute, than Don Martin himself reckoned; for, as he was on the spot, he could not but know, that since the last enumeration of them in 1677, according to which the sum total of the tribute amounted to ten thousand five hundred crowns, it was ordered by a Royal Schedule dated the 17th of July 1684, that, for the time to come, it should not be exacted but on the footing of the said muster, till another should be taken; and that no list had been taken from that period to the time of his composing his memorial.

What is more, adds Father d'Aguilar, when Don John Gregorio Bacan had, in the year 1715, taken a list of the Indians of the thirteen Reductions on the Parana, his Majesty, by a Schedule dated the 24th of August 1718, ordered, that the tribute should continue to be levied according to the lists taken in 1677; and it was Don Diego Ibanez de Faria, who was charged with the care of collecting it. Don

Martin

Martin de Barua, continues Father d'Aguilar knew very well, that, in virtue of the orders issued by Philip V. and all his predecessors, the stipends of the Missionaries were to be paid out of this tribute, notwithstanding which, in order to give the greater air of probability to what he advances concerning the dishonesty of the Jesuits on this head, he has the assurance to tell his Majesty, that the Revenue Officers, whose business it was to raise the tribute, had an understanding with these Religious; and, therefore, did not discharge their duty, as they should have done; which he adds no way surprized him, "for these Fathers, "says he, cry up so much their great power, that I "myself never dared to oppose their attempts, on "account of the correspondence they carry on with "your Viceroy of Peru, upon whom they can so much "the more easily palm every thing they think proper, "as it is more difficult, considering the distance at "which he resides, to convey the truth to him. "They have, likewise, found means to make the Bi-"shop of Paraguay enter into all their views; and I "have taken the liberty to tell your Majesty what "evil consequences may flow from such a combina-"tion." It was pretty surprising that Barua should speak in this manner to his Majesty, of a Viceroy like the Marquis de Castel Fuerte, and so respectable a Prelate as Don Joseph de Palos, especially in the present conjuncture, as nothing was fitter to confirm the suspicions of his Sovereign concerning the correspondence he himself maintained with the Commune of Paraguay.

But what Father d'Aguilar chiefly insisted upon, in answering this article of Don Martin's memorial, was the ignorance or impudence of the author in making such a noise about the credit of the Jesuits, and reproaching them with their abuse of it, at a time the Viceroy was obliged to employ the most terrible

menaces to oblige him to re-eſtabliſh them in their College, from whence they had been ſo ignominiouſly expelled; at a time that not a ſingle perſon, in the whole Province, dared to ſpeak in their favour for fear of incurring his indignation. The King, on his ſide, could not help being greatly ſurpriſed, that theſe Fathers, though well acquainted with the Governor's ſentiments concerning them, had not written to Spain a ſingle letter againſt him; ſo that it was a long time before their Agents at Madrid could anſwer his memorial.

But Don Martin's malice appeared ſtill greater in that article of his memorial, in which, by His Majeſty's orders, he gives him his ſentiments in regard to the project formed by Don Bartholomew de Aldunaté. This project, as we have already ſaid, conſiſted chiefly in eſtabliſhing Spaniſh Corregidors in the Parana and the Uruguay Reductions. Aldunaté, however, was not the firſt adviſer of this meaſure. So early as the year 1653, the Dean of the Cathedral of the Aſſumption had ſtrongly repreſented to the Count de Peneranda, Preſident of the Royal Council of the Indies, the diſagreeable conſequences, which would inevitably attend ſuch an innovation in America, where it was reported, that the edict, iſſued in conſequence of the accuſation brought againſt the Jeſuits by the Agents of Don Bernardin de Cardenas, was on the point of being publiſhed in the Province of Paraguay.

Barua, in his anſwer to this article of the King's letter, obſerves to His Majeſty, that the eſtabliſhment of Spaniſh Corregidors in the Reductions governed by the Jeſuits might be attended with great inconveniences. Affecting, however, to forget thoſe, which the Dean of the Chapter of the Aſſumption had mentioned in his letter to the Count de Peneranda, he ſays, that, by the great experience he had acquired, eſpecially during the five years he governed

the Province of Paraguay, he was convinced, that the Indians governed by the Jesuits acknowledged no authority but theirs; an authority, he adds, which they had usurped, and did not condescend to share, even with the Sovereign; whence he concluded, that it would be dangerous to attempt to make the least alteration in the present method of governing these people; and that there would be no safety for the Spanish Officers who might be placed over them. Besides, says he, who would accept of such a commission, considering the maxims of the company?

FATHER D'AGUILAR's answer to so atrocious a charge was, that, in fact, these Indians had abandoned themselves to the conduct of the Fathers of the company, who, with immense labours, and often at the expence of their lives, went to look for them in forests and mountains, which no Spaniards had ever been able to penetrate; who, with the grace of God, had the happiness of changing these cannibals into zealous and fervent christians; and converting the fiercest enemies of His Majesty's natural subjects into the most faithful vassals he had in the New world, they being constantly ready to execute his orders and those of his Governors at their own expence, and even lay down their lives for his service. He then takes notice, that Don Martin de Barua, and those who think like him would never have considered it as a crime in those Neophytes to express so unlimited a gratitude for, confidence in, and attachment to, their Fathers in JESUS CHRIST, had not these Religious, not content with bringing them to the knowledge of the true God, and procuring them all the advantages they enjoyed under the protection of the Catholick Kings, exerted themselves, with the greatest zeal and constancy, and in spite of the severest persecutions, to maintain them in the possession of their liberty.

Father d'Aguilar allows it to be more than probable, that they would consider the placing of Spanish Corregidors over them as an attack upon their liberty, of which they are infinitely jealous, from a persuasion, that they must, in that case, soon become the most miserable of men, as views of interest alone could make such men accept these employments. In fact, adds the provincial, it is not to be doubted, if we may judge what happens elsewhere, that these Corregidors, free as they would be from all apprehensions of being called to an account for their behaviour, would soon make, of the simplicity and loyalty of these Indians, the bad use, which it is said, without proof, the Missionaries now make of it; and to be convinced of this, it is sufficient to see in what manner those in command are treated, and that too under the very eyes of the Bishops and Governors.

He owns, in fine, that the Reductions are situated in a manner to render the revolt of the Neophytes, if driven to it by bad usage, easy and incurable. But he shews at the same time, the same thing may be said of all the other Indian towns, from whence, besides, it is so much the easier for the inhabitants to desert, and join the enemies of the Spaniards, as there is not one of them, which has not some one or another of these enemies near enough, and equally willing, to afford them an asylum, as has been often the case. But it would be still worse, he adds, if those, who now live quietly and loyally under the direction of the Jesuits, seeing themselves commanded by Spanish Corregidors, and in danger of losing their liberty, instead of dispersing, or returning to their ancient habitations, should take it in their heads to carry fire and sword into the Spanish Plantations, in order to be revenged for the breach of promises made to them, and for so ungrateful a return for all their services.

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He, moreover, observes, that there would be no safety, even in the Spanish towns, against them, if once driven to despair, since there are very few Spanish towns in these Provinces, but what find it a difficult matter to hold out against a handful of undisciplined barbarians, who have already destroyed some of them; that, even in the capital Cities, the inhabitants are obliged to suffer the greatest indignities from these barbarians, for want of being in a condition to reduce them by force. In fact, adds he, how would it be possible to oppose twenty thousand Indians, who have measured their strength with the best Spanish and Portuguese troops; whom the Mamelus dare no longer look in the face; who have twice driven the Portuguese from the Colony of the Blessed Sacrament; and who, for so many years past, keep in awe all the infidel nations which surround them.

He refutes, with equal force, what several Spaniards never ceased alledging, that their ancestors had subdued the Guaranis and the other Indians with whom the Reductions were peopled; adding, that it could not be denied that these nations were born free; and that the Spaniards did not so much as think of reducing them, when the Jesuits prevailed on them to unite under their direction, and acknowledge the Kings of Spain for their Sovereigns, by promising them, in the most formal manner, that no attempt should be made on their liberty, and that they should never become slaves to the Spaniards. He concludes this article by protesting, that, if, notwithstanding all he has taken the liberty to represent to the King, his Majesty should think proper to establish Spanish Corregidors in the Reductions, not only the Jesuits would not oppose such establishment, but would employ all their credit to make their Neophytes agree to it, though they could not help being persuaded, that, instead of being barely deserted by them

on the first mention of such a change, they would be the first to fall a sacrifice to their resentment.

He, then, beseeches his Majesty to consider, that the Jesuits, in placing this Christian Republick at so great a distance from the Spanish towns and Plantations, not only did nothing but by the advice of the Governors of these Provinces and with the consent of the Kings his predecessors, whose view was to have, in them, a barrier against the enterprizes of the Portugueze of Brazil and the Indians living on that frontier, not to mention several other motives, the justness of which appeared more and more manifest by subsequent events; but that it was so little the design of these Fathers to be more at liberty to dispose, as they pleased, of the substance of these Indians, and benefit by the trade carried on by them, as Don Martin de Barua pretended, that it was notorious, that, in the manner this trade had been always carried on, the Spaniards were those, who always reaped the greatest benefit by it.

To prove this, he enters into particulars, upon which I shall not dwell, as they relate chiefly to what I have already sufficiently enlarged upon, concerning the measures taken by these Missionaries to provide necessaries for their Neophytes, ornaments for their Churches, and every thing requisite for the celebration of the Divine Office; and to defray the Indians, employed, at a distance from home, in the King's service. In particular, he exhibits, in the strongest light, what had been already several times represented, that if there was a freer communication between them and the Spaniards, libertinism would take place, in this Church, which now does so much honour to Religion, of innocence, piety, and a fervour, scarce known in any but the first ages of Christianity; not to mention, that, in consequence of its being so easy to impose upon them, they must soon be reduced to the greatest

distress,

diſtreſs, and thereby diſabled from ſerving their Sovereign in the gratuitous manner they had hitherto done; and giving to the worſhip they yield the Lord that degree of ſplendor and magnificence, which ſurprizes all thoſe who behold it.

To be convinced of this, Philip V. could not require any new proofs, after the accounts ſo often received by him from Biſhops, Governors, and ſeveral other perſons of unexceptionable credit; and after what he had heard concerning the deplorable condition of the four Indian towns, in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres, though entirely formed of Chriſtians. He likewiſe knew, (and nothing was better known to the Biſhops of theſe Provinces,) how difficult, if not impoſſible, it was, to convert the Infidels of this country, who either lived among Spaniards, or near enough to them to be ſcandalized by their bad example.

It appears, that Don John Vaſquez de Aguero had begun to give the King, his maſter, an account of the ſituation, in which he found the affairs of Paraguay, relating to ſeveral articles in his inſtructions, before he ſaw Father d'Aguilar's performance, ſince, even after his informations had been received, ſeveral objections were made to Father. Rodero, Agent General of the Indies at Madrid, concerning the exactneſs of the Reduction Indians in paying their. tribute; and their Miſſionaries not allowing them a free correſpondence with the Spaniards, or even leave to learn the Spaniſh language; two points, which the Provincial had ſufficiently cleared up in his Memorial.

Two of the principal members of the Royal Council of the Indies being ordered to confer upon theſe points with this Agent; he began, by taking notice to them, that it would be unjuſt to require from the Reduction Indians, the ſame tribute that was

was required from those who had been reduced by force of arms: firſt, becauſe their ſubmiſſion was voluntary: ſecondly, becauſe the ſervices they yielded the State, not only without any pay, but at a very great expence to themſelves, were much more than an equivalent for what the other Indians paid; and, to make them the more ſenſible of this, he produced an unexceptionable calculation, by which it appeared, that, had they, on the one hand, paid the ſame tribute, and the ſame contributions, with thoſe Indians that are moſt heavily burdened; and received, on the other, equal pay with that allowed the Indians of the towns in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres, for their military and other ſervices, there would appear due to them ſuch a balance, as would prove it no great favour to exempt them, entirely, from all tributes and taxes; ſince, in time of peace as well as war, ſome of them are conſtantly employed; and are obliged, beſides, to ſupply themſelves with arms and ammunition at their own expence.

As to the free communication, which ſome people thought it would be proper to open between the Spaniards, and the Reduction Indians; the Agent General, not content with the ſolid arguments brought againſt it by Father d'Aguilar, took notice to the two Miniſters, who ſpoke to him concerning it, that it would be quite idle to inſiſt upon ſuch a communication from any apprehenſions, that the behaviour of the Miſſionaries, in this reſpect, tended to render the Neophytes independent of the Government; and, on its being objected to him, that their continuing to make uſe of no other but their mother tongue was contrary to the Statutes, he anſwered, that there was in every town a ſchool, where the children were taught to read and to write the Spaniſh, both which they performed very well; that this was all

all the statutes required; that the Indians had the greatest aversion to speak any language but their own, which a great many Spaniards were sufficiently acquainted with; that there were very good reasons for not using any compulsion on this head; and that, if his Majesty did not approve these reasons, when they should be made known to him, the Missionaries would comply with his orders, as far as they should find it possible, without exposing the loyalty of the Reduction Indians to too severe a trial.

He added, that few of the Spaniards, who at first found means to steal into the Reductions, ever left them without greatly scandalizing the Neophytes; debauching, and even carrying off, their wives; and seizing every thing they happened to take a fancy to; that, to keep these few Christians under the most perfect obedience, it was sufficient, that the Bishops, the Governors, and the Commissaries sent by his Majesty, should visit them as often as they thought proper, or send others there whom they could depend upon; that such never had the least reason to complain of their not being received there in a suitable manner, or of their orders not being obeyed with the greatest punctuality and chearfulness.

Some time after, the same objections, in regard to the Spanish language not being used in the Reductions, being made to Father Joseph Rico, who had been deputed to Madrid, in quality of Agent General of the Province of Paraguay; he added to the answers already given, that he was the more surprized at this point being so much insisted upon, as no Spanish was spoken in any of the Indian towns, governed by Secular Priests, or Franciscan Friars; that all the Indians, in general, are extremely jealous of their mother tongue; that the Jesuits were not to blame, if those under their direction did not do what it was wished they should do, as these

Fathers

Fathers did not think proper to employ threats or violence to oblige them to conform, in as much as the ſtatutes preſcribed nothing more than what was practiſed in all the Reductions, namely, to teach the children to read and write the Spaniſh and Latin, which they do ſo well, that one can ſcarce believe they are not perfectly acquainted with both theſe languages *.

Great ſtreſs was likewiſe laid, in the account ſent to the Royal Council of the Indies, on gun-powder being made in all the Reductions; a practice expreſsly forbid by law, and liable to great inconveniencies. Father Rico, who knew the Reductions better than any one elſe, having ſeveral times carefully viſited them, made anſwer, that there was not the leaſt apparent ground for this accuſation; it being well known in Paraguay, that, in all the country occupied by theſe Indians, there is not ſaltpetre enough to employ a ſingle powder-mill; and that it cannot be proved, that theſe Neophytes ever ſold a ſingle pound of it, or could expend within themſelves the quantity of it which it was pretended they made. It is even well known, added Father Rico, that the Agent of the Miſſions at Buenos Ayres always buys for them what they want, when ordered to take the field for his Majeſty's ſervice.

He did not, however, deny, but that in ſome towns the Indians might make about twenty pounds of powder every year; but he added, that it was too weak to ſerve for any thing but the rockets uſed by them in their public rejoicings; that it was from the Spaniards they learnt to make it; that the Governors never took it amiſs; and that they ſhould not have

* There is, in Spain, a large Spaniſh manuſcript in the hand writing of one of theſe Indians, which would do honour to the ableſt copier in Europe.

failed

failed to forbid it, on the first notice; that their circumspection in regard to the making of gunpowder had been always so great, that when, in the beginning of the present century, some Frenchmen had offered to teach their Indians a method of making a great deal of powder, to save them the expence of purchasing that commodity, when ordered to take the field for his Majesty's service, they would by no means listen to their proposal; as well to avoid introducing strangers into the Reductions, a thing expresly forbid; as on account of the inconveniencies that might attend their Indians being able to procure gunpowder when they pleased; a thing, it was more their interest than that of any one else to prevent.

At last, Father Rico had a reproach to answer, which he certainly could not expect. This was, that, for a long time past, the Jesuits of Paraguay, contenting themselves with their thirty Reductions, had given over their apostolical labours among the Indians; and that, accordingly, the last eight Reductions were but swarms drawn from the twenty-two first. Accordingly, of all the accusations brought against the Company, this was that, which their Agent had the least difficulty in answering. He began by granting, that, of the first two and twenty Parana and Uruguay Reductions, the Missionaries had formed thirty; but then he took notice; 1st, that the Pastors of the eight new towns received nothing from the King by way of salary or subsistence; but lived wholly upon the stipends allowed those of the twenty two old ones; 2dly, that the only reason for draughting from the latter a certain number of families, was their growing too populous for one Priest to serve them; 3dly, that the Missionaries had never discontinued their excursions into the countries inhabited by Infidels, and always brought back some Proselytes with

with them to the Reductions; that he himself saw Father Pons conduct to one of the Parana Reductions, in the year 1731, one hundred and sixty Guayanas, whom he had gone in quest of a great way into their forests; and that, were it not for such recruits, the eight new Reductions could not have been so soon peopled; 4thly, that it was so much the more shameful to reproach the Missionaries of Paraguay with having suffered their zeal for the salvation of Infidels to cool, as the blood of two of their brethren, massacred in propagating the Gospel, was still warm; and new churches were every day starting up among the Chiquites, in the Provinces of Tucuman and Paraguay. We shall soon have an opportunity of being still better convinced, that those, who attacked the Missionaries upon this head, must have been obstinately bent on quarrelling with them.

1740
1745
These two Memorials of Father d'Aguilar and Father Rico were printed, along with the informations of Don John Vesquez de Aguero, which were found to agree with several letters from the late Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, and Don Pedro Faxardo, Bishop of Buenos Ayres; and the still recent account of Father Lizardi's martyrdom completely dissipated the prejudices that had given occasion to so many enquiries; so that, the Report of all these pieces having been made, in a Royal Council of the Indies, at which the King personally presided, his Majesty gave orders for drawing up, in conformity thereto, a decree, in form of regulation, and signed it on the 28th of December of the same year. In the mean time, his Majesty received a letter from Don Joseph de Peralta, of the Order of St. Dominick, who succeeded Don Pedro Faxardo in the Bishopric of Buenos Ayres; and ordered it to be printed

along

along with his decree. As this letter contains ſeveral particulars relating to the then ſtate of the Province of the Rio de la Plata, and the thirty Uruguay and the Parana Reductions, which this Prelate had juſt viſited, by virtue of a ſpecial Commiſſion from his Majeſty; I think it my duty to inſert a pretty long extract of it.

After giving his Majeſty an account of the haſte he had made by his orders to repair to his dioceſe, as it was feared the Engliſh were meditating a deſcent in one of the Ports of it, he goes on thus: "As ſoon as I entered it, I began by viſiting the "pariſhes on my road; and, after taking poſſeſſion "of my cathedral, continued to viſit the neighbour-"ing churches and chapels, in which I confirmed "about ten thouſand perſons of every age, and both "ſexes. When I had finiſhed this viſit, to comply "with every part of my duty, I viſited the churches "and chapels of Santafé, Corrientes, and the Doc-"trines, which lie at a great diſtance in the inland "country, and are governed by the Fathers of "the Company of Jeſus.

"The town of Santafé, which lies about a hundred "leagues from Buenos Ayres, was formerly the "moſt flouriſhing of all this dioceſe, and even that "of Paraguay, which contained moſt nobility. It "is well built, and moſt advantageouſly ſituated "between two rivers, which water a fertile country. "But, within theſe two years, it has ſuffered greatly "in the extent of its territory, and the number of "its inhabitants, by the continual inroads of the "Guaycurus and the Charuas, who never appeared "there till the year 1716. They began by making "little incurſions into the country, from whence "they carried off the cattle; after this, they formed "a body of horſe, and redoubled their hoſtilities, "but ſtill in the way of treachery and ſurprize, till

"they

"they ruined almoſt all the inhabitants of Santafé. "The Jeſuits, in particular, have been ſuch conſiderable loſers by their depredations, that they have "ſcarce left wherewith to maintain Fathers enough "to go through the duties of their college. At "length, the fear of falling into the hands of theſe "Savages obliged ſeveral of the inhabitants to withdraw elſewhere. Thoſe who remain are in the "ſame condition with the inhabitants of Bethulia, "when beſieged by Holofernes. They can ſcarce "cultivate the little land that lies neareſt to the city; "and are, beſides, obliged to bring home their cattle "to it every night.

"It is true, that, ſome years ago, a peace was "made with theſe Barbarians, but it was of no uſe "to put a ſtop to their depredations; they have "declared, it ſeems, that they only bound themſelves not to murder any one; though, after all, "it is not ſafe to fall into their hands. It is this that "has brought Santafé to the loweſt ebb. Moſt of "its inhabitants have taken refuge in the mountains, "where they cannot hear the word of God, or the "voice of their Paſtors; nor even enjoy the comfort "of aſſiſting at the Divine Myſteries. However, "to ſecure this peace, ſuch as it is, a corps of militia "has been raiſed, and is ſtill kept on foot. But to "do this, it was requiſite to enliſt thoſe who ſhould "be employed in cultivating the earth; and, after "all, it is reduced to half the number of which it "originally conſiſted, ſo that, unleſs ſome meaſures "are taken to remedy this evil, the town will ſoon "have no garriſon to defend it. I thought it my "duty, Sire, to inform your Majeſty of the dangerous "ſituation of this place, that you may give orders "for completing its militia, or even encreaſing it "if requiſite.

"FROM

"From Santafé, I directed my course towards the "Reductions governed by the Fathers of the "Company of Jesus, the nearest of which lies one "hundred leagues from this place. This journey is "very difficult, and somewhat dangerous; the roads "being bad in themselves, and lying through an unin-"habited country; infested, however, by Barbarians "and wild beasts, and intersected by large rivers, the "navigation of which, being against the stream, is "very difficult, and not without danger. There "are seventeen of these Reductions within the "diocese of Buenos Ayres; and thirteen, within that "of the Assumption. After visiting those belonging "to my own diocese, I repaired to some of the others, "at the request of the Chapter of the Assumption, "the see of which happened to be then vacant, in "order to administer the sacrament of confirmation "in them; and, as I make no doubt but your "Majesty will be very glad to hear the progress "made by these poor Indians in the Christian faith, "I shall lay before you what I have seen with "my own eyes, and, as it were, examined with my "own hands, with so much consolation, that it made "me soon forget the great hardships and fatigues "it cost me to make this visit.

"And, indeed, what other sentiment could be "produced by the sight of so great a multitude of "sheep, who, tho' separated from one another, live, "under the direction of their Pastors, with so much "uniformity and harmony, that they seem but one "flock. I was not a little concerned at being "obliged to leave them; and set out, my heart "overflowing with the most tender devotion, and "thanking the Lord for the blessings unceasingly "poured down on these poor people, through the "ministry of a number of Religious, Holy, and "Apostolical men, entirely taken up with the care

"of instructing and strengthening them in the "Catholic Faith, and in forming them for your "Majesty's service, by inspiring them with a loyalty "and zeal, which could not be greater; even had "they inherited these virtues from their forefathers. "What a comfort it is, to assist at their solemn "music; to behold the riches and elegance with which "their churches and altars are decorated; the "decency and devotion with which they yield in "them to God the homage that is due to him; "the magnificence, with which they celebrate the "Divine Mysteries; and the tender love they express "for Jesus Christ in his august Sacrament! So un-"usual a sight, at the same time that it melted me "into tears, overwhelmed me with confusion, as it "made me make the most mortifying reflections on "the wide difference between these people, as yet "novices in the faith, and the old Christians, by "whose lives they should have been taught to ho-"nour and respect their common master.

"What made the most impression on me, was to "behold, at day-break, a cloud of children of both "sexes, the girls separated from the boys, enter the "church, in order to celebrate the praises of the "Lord, in canticles capable of inspiring the hardest "hearts with the tenderest devotion. The same is "practised at sun set; and all this, through the in-"dustry of the Missionaries, who do not, however, "confine their attention to the wants of the soul, but "extend it to those of the body. As soon as they "have taken proper measures for the construction "of the churches, and for procuring a supply of every "thing requisite for the celebration of Divine service, "they go into the fields with their Neophytes in "order to chuse the lands fittest for grain and "cotton; they, then, supply them with seed, oxen, "and ploghs; with so much foresight, and such

"universal

"universal charity, as it is not in the power of words "to express.

"As the Divine Worship is the principal object "of their attention, there are schools for teaching "the little children to sing, and the dances which "make part of the rejoicings used at their festivals; "and there is a spot of ground sowed apart for "these children. In a word, Sire, these Neophytes "constitute so considerable and so deserving a part "of your Royal patrimony, that I doubt if your "Majesty has any other that excels it. It often "happens, that the crops are not sufficient for their "subsistence; which is partly owing to their not "sowing seed enough, as they content themselves "with little. But, there is a further quantity of seed "sown, every year, for the widows, the orphans, the "sick; and especially those employed in necessary "occasions at a distance from home, for whom more "is sown than for the three other purposes. Of "the crops produced by this last seed, a portion "is laid up to answer unexpected calls, which are "likewise answered by cattle reared apart for the "use of the sick. In short, of all the private or "publick crops nothing is sent to the other provinces; "and this, because, in spite of the greatest precaution, "they are never sure of having enough for the current year. These Indians, likewise, derive great "advantages from the leaves of a tree, which they "dry, with a gentle heat, and afterwards reduce "into powder. This is what they call Paraguay "Herb. A certain portion of it is daily distributed "to each of them; for it is now become as indispensably necessary as food itself.

"This, however, is the only produce of their "lands they dispose of, to procure themselves a great "many things, which their country does not yield. "What remains is employed in the service of God

"and that of your Majesty; namely, in purchasing "embellishments for their churches, ornaments for "their altars, sacred vessels and other necessaries for "the celebration of the divine mysteries, and another "use equally indispensable. Besides the Missionaries "actually employed in the Reductions, there must "be a reserve always in readiness to help or succeed "them. I saw two of them die during my visitation. Now, it costs a great deal more to support "these supernumeraries, and defray their voyages, "than is allowed by the truly royal piety of your "Majesty. It is incredible, how high the charges "of an embarkation run, especially in time of war, "when the new Missionaries meet with long delays "at Cadiz. Now, to answer all these calls, the "Neophytes lay by a certain portion of what their "commerce produces.

"They allot another portion to purchase horses, "arms, military stores, cloathing for the soldiers "and others called out into your Majesty's service. "There is, at present, a great number of them at "work on the fortifications of Montevideo. They "are likewise obliged to keep constantly on foot a "body of militia, to guard against sudden surprizes, "and for the defence of their cattle against the "parties, which are perpetually hovering about them, "and continually forming ambuscades to plunder, "massacre, or make slaves of them. These expences "put together very often reduce them to such "straits, that it is impossible for the Agents of the "Missions to give them all the relief they stand in "need of, especially in bad years.

"It is for these reasons, I imagine, that these "Indians have been exempted from tithes; and "they enjoy this privilege in common with those "under the direction of the religious of St. Francis. "For this reason, when some persons would have

"had me exact them from the former, I did not think proper to take their advice, as the produce of their labour and their commerce does not go all to themselves, as it does to those, who cultivate the ground in the other Provinces of Paraguay, and in those of Peru and Chili; part of it being expended in the service of God, and that of your Majesty; for, next to the service of God, the chief attention of the Missionaries is to promote your Majesty's; and they have so zealously trained up their Neophytes in it, that, though a famine and the small pox have lately carried off great numbers of them, you may still reckon on twelve or fourteen thousand men, in constant readiness to act in any capacity, and in any place, your Majesty may think proper to employ them; as they have done of late years in the Province of Paraguay, where they gave the most surprizing proofs of courage, and of their loyalty and attachment to your Royal person; having supplied themselves, at their own expence, with horses, arms, ammunition; and chearfully exposed themselves to the greatest dangers. I thought it my duty, Sire, to give you a plain and sincere account of all these matters, that your Majesty, when well informed of every particular relating to these poor Indians, may be graciously pleased to acknowledge their loyalty and their services, and likewise reward the zeal and fatigues of the Evangelical labourers who direct them.

"Besides the Reductions I have all this time been speaking of, there is another, the first foundations of which were laid by the Fathers of the Company among the *Pampas*, who, of late years, committed great disorders in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres, and on the road between it and Chili. Don Miguel de Salcedo, your Governor

" of Rio de la Plata, having raiſed a ſquadron of " horſe, ſent out along with it a Jeſuit, whom he " charged to treat with thoſe Infidels, who are ſettled, " in great numbers, on this ſide of America, and on " the borders of Chili; and his project has been " crowned with ſucceſs. The Miſſionary ſpoke to " theſe Mountaineers, and engaged them to make " peace with the Spaniards, and ſend four of their " Caciques to Buenos Ayres to ſign it. One of the " articles is, that they ſhould reſtore all the captives " carried off by them within theſe few days. Other " Caciques are arrived at Santafé, and have earneſtly " applied to the Rector of the College there, for two " of his Religious, to inſtruct their whole nation in " the principles of the Chriſtian Religion, which they " are deſirous to embrace. The Provincial has grant- " ed their requeſt; and it looks as if all this hap- " pened, in conſequence of a ſpecial diſpenſation of " Providence, ſo that I truſt in God's mercy, the " former will, at leaſt, let us live in peace; and the " latter, by embracing our Holy Faith, open a wide " door to the propagation of the Catholick Religion " in theſe vaſt countries.

" It is proper, Sire, I ſhould here take notice, " that, having been to hold a viſitation at Corrientes, " which lies eighty leagues from the Reductions " I had juſt left, I paſſed, as the Scripture expreſſes " it, from the greateſt heat to the greateſt cold; that " is to ſay, that, after being an eye witneſs of the " moſt fervent piety among the Indians, I could " diſcover nothing but lukewarmneſs and coldneſs " among the Spaniards. This country is more " miſerable even than that of Santafé; for, though " its lands are very fertile, the ſloth of the inhabitants " keeps them very unhappy. Their whole employ- " ment is to tear each other to pieces; and there " prevails among them the greateſt corruption of

" manners.

"manners. I was obliged to drive out of it to "Buenos Ayres, and Corduba, several men, who, "though they had wives at these places, maintained "at Corrientes a scandalous commerce with other "women; which was one of the sources of the dis-"sentions that prevailed here.

"In the course of my visitation, which was of "several hundred leagues, I confirmed, in my "diocese, and that of the Assumption, twenty "thousand souls; and I should have had twice that "number to confirm, if the plague, by which, as I "have already taken notice, the Reductions have of "late years been visited, had not carried off great "numbers of every age and both sexes. The "Religious of St. Francis have three Reductions in "my diocese, which, to fulfill my obligations, I "likewise visited. They are well governed. The "Indians in them are well instructed, and divine "service performed with great piety and devotion; "but the churches are poor, and not so much "frequented as those of the Fathers of the Company. "Having asked the reason of this difference, they "assigned two; the first was, that part of their lands "have been given in command; and that the Encom-"menderoes are private persons, who often draw from "them as many Indians as they please of both sexes, "to employ them in the cultivation of their own "estates and farms. Thus, these Encommenderoes "not only take them from their pious exercises, "and disable them from assisting at divine service, "but even leave them no time to till and sow their "own grounds, or build their churches. Accord-"ingly, these towns grow thinner and thinner every "day, as great numbers of the inhabitants die in "the service of their Encommenderoes. The second "reason was, that they are exposed to the incursions "of the Payaguas, who murder or carry off a great

 "many

"many of these Indians. I thought it my duty to "give your Majesty these informations, that you "may be graciously pleased to apply to so many evils "the remedies your wisdom shall judge properest to "remove them."

The testimony of a Bishop, who had been an eye-witness of every thing he related, made so much the greater impression on Philip V. as it perfectly tallied with the informations his Majesty received from other quarters. I have already taken notice, that his Majesty directed, that this Prelate's letter should be printed along with his decree; and he gave the same orders in regard to two letters, which he addressed, one to the Provincial of the Jesuits in particular, and the other to the same Provincial and all his brethren in general. In the last, his Majesty acknowledges himself greatly obliged to them; congratulates them on the happy issue of this important affair; exhorts them to continue their endeavours to maintain the people under their care, in the practice of the purest maxims of Christianity, and in the loyalty with which they had always so well served him. His Majesty even speaks of these two letters, towards the close of his decree, in the following terms:

"In fine, as it is easy to see by all the pieces "already referred to, and by other ancient and "modern papers, which have been examined in my "Council with all the attention an affair of this "importance required, that I have not, in any part "of my Indian dominions, vassals which better ac-"knowledge my sovereignty; the duties of the "vassalage due to me; and my Royal patronage; or "among whom Civil and Ecclesiastical jurisdiction is "better established, as evidently appears by the con-"tinual visitations of their Bishops and Governors; "or who pay a blinder obedience to my orders, "especially when they are called out to defend the

"country,

" country, or upon any other ſervice, ſince, at the " firſt word, they immediately take up arms, and run " wherever they are bid, to the number of five or ſix " thouſand. I have reſolved to addreſs a Schedule to " the Provincial, to let him know, what pleaſure it " gives me to ſee the calumnies and impoſtures of " Aldunate and Barua refuted by ſo many juſtifica- " tions; to behold the great application of the com- " pany to every thing that relates to the ſervice of " God, and mine, and to the advantage of theſe poor " Indians; and, at the ſame time, acquaint him with " my hopes, that he and his brethren will continue " to govern their Reductions with the ſame zeal and " fervour they have hitherto done; and to take the " ſame care of their Neophytes."

What, it is probable, greatly contributed to make his Catholick Majeſty do juſtice to theſe Miſſionaries in ſo public and ample a manner, was, that there ſcarce arrived any ſhip in the ports of Spain from thoſe of Rio de la Plata, at the time their enemies did nothing but endeavour to prejudice his Majeſty againſt them, that did not bring an account of ſome new conqueſt made by them in the cauſe of Religion, and of ſome new Martyrs beſtowed by them on the Church. He was particularly pleaſed with the news of their having formed the project, and even already laid the foundations, of that new Chriſtian Republick, of which the Biſhop of Buenos Ayres himſelf makes ſome mention in the letter of his we have been reading. But, to do juſtice to the ſubject, we muſt reſume our narrative of what had happened in the different Provinces of Paraguay, where we were obliged to interrupt it.

It may, perhaps, appear ſurpriſing, that the Chriſtian Republick of the Chiquites was not ſo much as mentioned in the informations of Don John Vaſquez d'Aguero, or the decrees of his Catholick Majeſty. The reaſon was, that this eſtabliſhment had not as yet

given

given much employment to the Royal Council of the Indies, as it lay too much out of the way to have any great communication with the Spaniards, ſo that the Miſſionaries, who had planted and afterwards cultivated this new vineyard of the Lord, were not expoſed to the perſecutions, which their brethren ſuffered in the other Provinces of Paraguay, as their Neophytes ran no riſk of being given in command.

Another reaſon, why Philip V. did not mention them in his decree, was, that the Chiquites had not as yet been declared immediate vaſſals of the Crown, nor, of courſe, liable to pay any tribute; which, however, did not prevent their enjoying, in conſequence of the ancient Schedules of the Catholick Kings, all the privileges granted to the new Chriſtians in general, whom the Jeſuits ſhould draw from their ſavage retreats, and form into Reductions. The Biſhops and Governors of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra, whoſe juriſdiction they acknowledged, never exerted their authority but to protect them againſt all attacks upon their liberty and property; and when ſome lawleſs Spaniards attempted, as we have related, to diſturb this new eſtabliſhment, the Viceroys of Peru, and the Royal Audience of Charcas, interpoſed ſo effectually, that no one ever ſince ventured to moleſt them.

Their Miſſionaries, however, knew full well, that there were ſeveral perſons in the Province of Santa-Cruz, who did not regard them with a better eye, than their newly reclaimed and converted countrymen were regarded in every other place; and an event, which happened in 1740, confirmed them in their ſuſpicion that they could not proceed with too much circumſpection. They had, it ſeems, received the preceding year, through the hands of Don Anthony de Argomoſa Zavallos, Governor of Santa Cruz, orders from the Royal Audience of Las Charcas to ſend ſome

of

of their Neophytes to discover a safe and convenient road to Paraguay; and it appears, that these orders were dictated by a desire to find out what route might be taken by the Portuguese of Brazil, who, it was suspected, had some thoughts of establishing a private trade with the Kingdom of Peru.

In obedience to these orders, the Missionaries sent off one hundred Chiquites, who reached Paraguay without meeting with any Portugueze. But, on their return by another road to St. Raphael, the Reduction they set out from, they suddenly fell in with a pretty considerable number of horsemen of that nation, followed by some soldiers, and some servants a foot, who conducted the sumpter horses of the company. The Portuguese, at first, were not a little stunned at the sight of so many well armed Indians; but, having soon discovered, that they were some of those lately reclaimed and converted by the Jesuits, they thought proper to express great pleasure at the rencountre; caressed them greatly; and made them some presents. The Neophytes, on their side, presented them with the honey they had gathered in the woods; and shared with them the fruits of their fishing, fowling, and hunting.

Among the gentlemen of this company, there happened to be three who spoke Spanish pretty well, which gave Don Anthony Pineyro, who commanded it, an opportunity of entering into conversation with the Chiquites, several of whom understood the same language, concerning the motives of his journey. He then told them, that they probably came from some Reduction; and, on their answering that they came from that of St. Raphael, he begged them to conduct him to it, as he longed mightily, and was even charged, to see some of the Missionaries. The Neophytes made no difficulty of complying with his request. When they had got within two days journey

journey of St. Raphael, Don Anthony wrote to Father Mark Abendano, who governed their Church with Father Joſeph Rodriguez, to give him notice of his approach. As ſoon as Father Abendano received this letter, he communicated it to Father Barth[illegible] de Mora, Superior General of the Chiqui[illegible] Miſſions, who ordered him to make much of the Portugueze, till he himſelf ſhould arrive with Father John de Carbanzes, who had been ſent to viſit theſe Miſſions by the Provincial of the Jeſuits of Paraguay.

The Portugueze arrived at St. Raphael the 18th of Auguſt 1740. Don Anthony Pineyro and his Lieutenant were richly dreſſed; the other gentlemen appeared as became men of quality on a journey; and their whole retinue made a very neat and decent appearance. The Fathers entertained their gueſts as well as their poverty would allow them; and Don Anthony put into their hands a very fine preſent, which he was charged, he ſaid, to offer, by way of alms, to the firſt houſe of the company he ſhould meet on his journey, in the name of a very rich gentleman, the chief Proprietor of the Mines of Cuyaba.

He added, that this gentleman had a great devotion to St. Francis Xavier, to whom he conſecrated this preſent; and that he contributed largely to the expence of ſoliciting, at the Court of Rome, the Beatification of Father Joſeph Anchieta, Apoſtle of Brazil. The Fathers, at firſt, refuſed to accept this preſent; nor did they yield to Don Anthony's inſtances, till he poſitively told them, that he would not by any means take it back with him. He, and the gentlemen who accompanied him, enlarged greatly on the good education which the Jeſuits gave their new Chriſtians, the effects of which they had experienced in their rencountre with the Chiquites, formerly ſo ſavage and barbarous; on the harmony that prevailed among them; and that univerſal and truly

Chriſtian

Christian charity they practised towards all, without any distinction of king or country.

DON ANTHONY then delivered the Missionaries a letter, which the Captain Major of Cuyaba had given him, for the Superior General of the Chiquite Reductions, by which he acquainted him, that he had imprisoned a Portugueze, who, having two years before that met Father Castanarez in an excursion after some fugitive Indians belonging to St. Raphael, had greatly trespassed against the respect due to him; adding, that the severest orders had been published all over Brazil, to treat the Missionaries of Paraguay with all the respect and attention their character and merit entitled them to; to use their Neophytes well as often as they met them; not to carry off any Indians, even such as were infidels, because in many places, where they might happen to be sold, there was no one capable of instructing them in the principles of our holy Religion.

WHEN these compliments were over, Don Anthony turned the discourse to the motive of his journey, which was to establish a trade between Brazil and Peru; and he undertook to convince the Missionaries, by a long detail of the articles which the Portugueze and Spaniards of these two kingdoms stood in need of, and might reciprocally supply each other with, that both nations would find their account in it. He insisted greatly on those, which would more particularly attend the Province of Santa-cruz de la Sierra, in which the Chiquite Missions were seated; and, to make them sensible of the facility with which this project might be executed, one of the Portugueze Officers produced a map of the route pursued by them in their journey from Brazil, in which he had laid down all their establishments. The Fathers were greatly alarmed at the sight of it; and more so, at the account of the treasures they drew from that part of

Paraguay,

Paraguay, which the Spaniards had most neglected. I shall here give this route, which it is pretty surprising any Portugueze should be so ready to acquaint Spaniards with.

From Saint Paul of Piratiningue they travelled by land, to embark on the *Nembis*, or *Anembi*, by following the little rivers that fall into it. Now, according to the last map of Paraguay, the Anembi flows directly into the Parana, whereas the Portugueze Officer assured the Fathers, that it was only by some rivulets communicating between both, they entered this last. Be that as it will, they crossed the Parana in order to ascend the *Yguairi*, which falls into the Paraguay in conjunction with another river they called *Boterey*. After this, they remounted the Paraguay, keeping in close to the western shore of it, and leaving to their right the ruins of the City of Xerez, which, of course, should be placed much nearer to the river Paraguay than the maps make it.

Then, leaving, to their left, the lake *Maniore*; and, a little higher, *Rio Taquari*, they soon reached the town of Jesus of *Cuyaba*, which lies but two days journey North East from the lake of the *Xarayes*. In two days journey more to the West, they got to a great mountain, called *Morro de San Geronymo*, where there are, likewise, gold mines actually working. After crossing the mountain, they embarked on the lake of the Xarayes; and, after coasting it for some time, entered a great river, which flows into it from the West. By this river, the name of which they did not mention, and the Jesuits did not think proper to ask them, for fear of alarming them, they proceeded to other Mines called *Monte Grosso*, where there is a town consisting of about three hundred families. Don Anthony Pineyro said, that he was one of the first who had remounted this river; that he met, on the banks of it, a small Nation of Indians called *Parissus*,

very poor and wretched, and of a very diminutive ſtature. "Theſe are the Indians, ſaid he, who work in "the mines with the Negroes and other ſlaves ſent "there from Brazil, with Miſſionaries to inſtruct the "Pariſſus and the *Maimburez* their neighbours, who are "a very numerous nation." After this relation, the Portugueze told the Jeſuits, that they had of late made war, with good ſucceſs, againſt the Payaguas; and that it would be entirely the fault of the Spaniards, if the navigation of the Paraguay was not rendered perfectly ſafe, as, by acting in concert with the Portugueze, they might eaſily exterminate theſe robbers.

To all this the Jeſuits made no other anſwer, than that the Court of Madrid was appriſed of the Portugueze having, without any ceremony or form, taken poſſeſſion of a conſiderable tract of land belonging to the Crown of Spain, which was reſolved to recover it by force or by fair means; and that his Catholick Majeſty had ſtrictly forbidden his ſubjects, in all the Provinces within the juriſdiction of the Viceroy of Peru, to carry on a trade with Brazil. To the firſt of theſe points Don Anthony replied, that the Portugueze kept very exactly within the line of demarcation; that, however, though they loved peace, they were not afraid of war, when they thought it juſt; and that, if any doubts ſtill ſubſiſted concerning the limits of the two empires in America, he made no doubt, but that the councils of the two Kings would amicably decide them. As to the trade he had mentioned, he allowed the goodneſs of his Catholick Majeſty's reaſons for prohibiting it; and owned, that his Portugueze Majeſty had, likewiſe, forbid it in Brazil.

The Superior General of the Chiquite Miſſions did not arrive at St. Raphael, till the Portugueze had ſet out from it; when, Father Abendano having made faithful report of all that had happened, he tranſmitted

mitted it to the Governor of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and to the Royal Audience of Charcas, declaring, that he would make no use of the present left by the Portugueze till he had received their orders. The Royal Audience referred the affair to the Viceroy; and, in the mean time, wrote back to the Superior to request and enjoin him to forbid the Missionaries to let any strangers enter their Reductions; or permit their Neophytes to have any communication with the Portugueze; or even receive presents from them, under any denomination whatsoever.

Father de Mora found, that Father Abandario had been before-hand with these injunctions; for, having heared that a detachment of Chiquites, whom he had sent with the Portugueze to bring them back to their road, with orders to take good notice what route they took, had accepted from Don Anthony Pineyro, on his dismissing them, a present of coats, shirts, and beaver hats, he caused the Indian who commanded them to be punished, and all the things they had received to be burnt in the great square, taking care, however, to indemnify them for the loss; and then acquainted the Governor of Santa Cruz with what he had done. A Spanish gentleman, who had been witness to the whole transaction, confirmed his account; and the Governor stopt the mouths of certain persons, who began to spread a report, that the Jesuits, to acknowledge the liberality of the Portugueze, had not only supplied them with mules, horses, and provisions, for their return; but had, in many respects, lost sight of their duty to his Majesty, in the contemplation of their own private interest.

The Governor went further still. He sent an account of the whole affair to the Royal Audience of Charcas, who did Father de Mora the honour to write to him, to congratulate him and all the Missionaries on the discretion with which they had behaved on

this

this occasion. The Viceroy expressed equal satisfaction at their conduct. However, he desired to have the present, which Father Abendano had received; and it was immediately sent him. After all, it is very probable, that it was on occasion of this event, that Father Rico, at that time Agent General of the Indies for his company in Spain, petitioned the King, not to delay any longer putting the Christian Chiquites upon the same footing with the Guaranis. Philip V. in compliance with his request, gave orders, in 1745, for making out a Royal Schedule addressed to Don Francis Xavier Palacios, Oydor of the Royal Audience of Charcas, containing a special commission to receive the Chiquites in quality of immediate vassals of the crown, according to the instructions that were at the same time delivered to him.

The Commissary set out, as soon as he had received his dispatches. He was as yet but very superficially acquainted with these Missions; but he received, on the road to them, a letter from his friend Don Joseph Pardo de Figueroa, Marquis del Valle Umbroso, who gave him all the information he could desire to execute his commission. No one could be better acquainted with Spanish America than this Nobleman, who was born at Lima; had visited all the provinces within the jurisdiction of Peru; and served with great distinction in New Spain. He has been since seen in Europe, expressing himself in every language with as much facility as if his own; appearing every where at home; and speaking of all subjects like a man perfectly versed in all the sciences. This is the idea the learned Father Feijoo, a Benedictine Monk, gives of him in several parts of his works, especially in the fourth volume of his Critical Theatre. Father Vaniere, who had seen him in France, has likewise made a beautiful panegyrick on him in the

sixth chapter of his *Prædium Rusticum.* Now, the following is the letter of this great man to Don Francis Xavier Palacios concerning his commission:

"I SHALL think myself extremely happy in your "Lordship's meeting with all the success you can "desire in the affair you are going about to the Chiquites; but I cannot conceive a more difficult task, "than that of taking such a list of these new Christians, as may serve to regulate, exactly, the tribute "that is to be imposed upon them. I know their "country well enough to be able to assure you, "that, as often as southerly winds reign there, they "bring with them epidemical disorders, which are "constantly followed by a great mortality; so that "the Reductions, instead of growing every year more "and more populous, are often in danger of becoming much thinner. After all, Sir, you will be "greatly pleased to meet with Christians perfectly "well instructed in their religion, and all the duties "of a civil life; but you will, above all, be surprized "at their skill in all the mechanical arts, and the "dexterity with which they go through their military "exercises. You will be equally charmed with their "musick, every part of which they execute to the "greatest perfection. They play very well on all "manner of instruments; and their ballets would "please even in France and Italy. It must, indeed, "be owned, that the Fathers of the Company are "the only men in America, who know how to operate such wonderful changes. You will meet with "a charming people; with a divine worship in all "its splendor; with true Christians animated by all "the zeal of the primitive Church.

"THESE are, Sir, the riches, which these Apostolical men come in quest of to the new world; and "in which their empire in Paraguay consists. It is "only by immense labours, that they have thus ac-

"quired

" quired children to the Church, and ſubjects to the " King, in men, who, before they fell into their hands, " reſembled wild beaſts more than human beings; " that they have formed them into a Republick, over " which Religion and reaſon have an abſolute ſway, " and which, every day, peoples Heaven with Saints. " I cannot too earneſtly beſeech your Lordſhip to " ſhew theſe Miſſionaries all the kindneſs in your " power: and I am thoroughly ſatisfied, that they " will propoſe nothing to you, which is not for the " greater glory of God, according to the Spirit of " their Holy Inſtitute."

THE Oydor, on his arrival at Saint Francis Xavier, the firſt of the Reductions he reached, and the oldeſt of them all, found there, before him, Father Stephen Palozzi, Superior General of theſe Miſſions, and Father Diego Paul de Contreras, who were come there purpoſely to receive him, and wait upon him where-ever he went. He was charmed with the reception they gave him; and they, with his polite behaviour to them. With ſuch reciprocal diſpoſitions, it was impoſſible his commiſſion ſhould not have a happy iſſue. The Chiquites thought themſelves very happy, that his Catholick Majeſty ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed to ſecure their liberty by admitting them among the number of his immediate vaſſals; and they chearfully ſubmitted to pay him the ſame tribute with the Guarani Indians.

BOOK XIV.

Indians of Chaco, again refractory; and again, severely chastized, particularly by Christian Zamucos. Singular event among the latter. Successful mission made by the Jesuits in the Spanish towns of Tucuman. Fresh hostilities committed by the Abipones; terminated by a peace, which the Jesuits improve to the converting of them. Tobas, again troublesome; roughly handled, and effectually restrained. Mataguayos and Mocovis subdued. Great disinterestedness of Don Francis de Bareda, Commander against the latter. Abipones attack Corduba; after doing a great deal of mischief, forced to retreat. Universal dearth in all the Parana and Uruguay Reductions; effectually remedied by their pastors. Fugitive Tobatines found out, and formed into a Reduction. A Reduction founded amongst the Guenoas; and another, by secular priests, among the Vilelas. Jesuits turn their thoughts towards the Magellanic Regions. General description of the country and its inhabitants. No Giants, now or formerly, amongst them. A great number of them formed into a Reduction, under the name of the Conception, almost opposite Monte Video, at the request of four of their Chiefs: soon civilized to a most extraordinary degree. Some other Magellanists, headed by a Cacique, surnamed Bravo *by the Spaniards, surprize the Spanish town, called the Magdalen; put two hundred of the inhabitants to the sword; and, after pillaging the place, carry a much greater number into slavery; approach the Conception; but retreat on finding themselves expected. Spaniards of Buenos Ayres treat some of the Conception Indians as guilty of a design upon them; made sensible of*

 their

their mistake. Expedition against the Cacique Bravo; *terminates, without blood-shed, in a cessation of arms, an exchange of prisoners, and a treaty of peace. Royal decree in favour of the establishments formed by the Jesuits in the Magellanic Regions. Conception, in the most flourishing condition, on the point of being destroyed by the clandestine introduction of spirits; removed to a more healthy spot. Magellanic coast minutely surveyed by express orders of the Spanish Court; found uninhabited and uninhabitable. More Magellanists apply for, and obtain, Jesuits to instruct them. Reduction of the Conception broke up. New war between the Spaniards and Magellanists. Hopes of propagating, or even maintaining, the gospel among the latter, vanished. New orders from Spain concerning the Reductions likely to prove fatal to them. Conclusion.*

1740 DURING these transactions amongst
1745 the Chiquites, the Indians of Chaco had renewed their hostilities and depredations in the Province of Tucuman, and committed greater cruelties, than could be expected even from Barbarians. Don John de Montiso and Moscoso, Governor of the Province, made an effort to check them in the year 1741. For this purpose, he entered their country with superior forces; beat them in several rencountres; made a great number of them prisoners; delivered all the Spaniards they had made slaves of; retook every thing they had carried off from the plantations; and spread, a great way into Chaco, the terror of the Spanish arms. The Tobas were the first to call out for peace, and offered to engage the Mocovis to submit to such terms, as the Governor might think proper to prescribe.

THE Governor, upon this, sent word to the deputies to go and wait his answer in a fort which he named to them; and not presume to stir from it, without an order in writing from the Commanding Officer.

Officer. This they readily complied with; and, when the Spaniards came to treat with them, promised every thing; but they soon after broke all their promises. What, at this time, chiefly contributed to render them tractable, was a pretty smart blow given them by the Zamucos. One of their divisions, consisting partly of horse, had approached, in the night time, the Reduction of St. Ignatius, whose inhabitants did not in the least dream of any such visit. But, very providentially, they were that very day to celebrate the festival of St. Joseph; and all those, who worked in the fields, were returned in the evening about sun set. The Tobas, who expected to meet but few men in it, marched up to it by night; and at day break, just as they were on the point of entering it, set up a great shout. This gave the Zamucos not only timely notice to run to their arms, but likewise to form themselves, and march in good order against men, who were surprised themselves, because they thought they had surprised others. Accordingly, they broke and dispersed on the first attack, throwing away their arms and every thing else that could retard their flight. The Zamucos pursued them briskly; and would have killed or taken them all, were it not for two squadrons of Tobas that formed to protect them. The Zamucos, however, charged one of these squadrons with so much bravery, that it was obliged to throw itself into a very thick and bushy wood, where it was impossible for the Zamucos to follow it.

This victory, which cost the Zamucos but one woman and three horses, was, besides the making of a great many prisoners in the pursuit, attended with some other advantages. It not only taught the Zamucos not to fear an enemy, which hitherto had appeared very formidable to them; but likewise made the Tobas lay aside all thoughts of molesting a na-

tion, whose conversion to christianity had changed their ferocity into a prudent and well-regulated courage; and which, of course, they could no longer expect to be able to surprise. However, the Fathers Ghomé and Contreras, who governed this church, took advantage of the danger, to which their Neophytes had been exposed, to prevail on them to enclose their towns with good walls of earth, with port holes at proper distances, that they might be able to fire on an enemy without exposing themselves.

But they had scarce secured themselves effectually from the common enemy, when a civil war had like to have broke out amongst themselves. The Uruganos, one of the four Zamuco tribes, of which the Reduction of St. Ignatius was composed, and the last added to it, had been for a long time mortal enemies to the rest; and, though the antipathy between them appeared to be entirely subdued, it suddenly and unexpectedly broke out again soon after the departure of the Missionary, who had reconciled and united them. However, both parties retained so uncommon a degree of temper, that, to avoid coming to extremities, they resolved to separate without saying any thing of it to their pastors; so that, each having taken a different road, the Reduction suddenly was without inhabitants. On the first advice, which the Visitor of the Chiquite Missions received of this singular event, he ordered Father de Contreras to come to him at St. John Baptist, in hopes that the greatest part of the Zamucos, who were greatly attached to that Missionary, would, on hearing he was in that town, immediately hasten to it, to live under his direction.

It happened accordingly; for the Missionary was scarce arrived at St. John Baptist, when the three first tribes of the Zamucos flocked to him. He received them with open arms; and, as they declared,

 that

that they could never prevail on themſelves to return to St. Ignatius, where the lands, they ſaid, were not adapted to ſupply all their wants, he informed the Viſitor of it; who hearing at the ſame time, that the Uruganos were of the ſame way of thinking, immediately reſolved to leave the three tribes, for ſome time, at St. John Baptiſt, and draw from this Reduction a part of its inhabitants; and unite them with the Uruganos, in order to form them into a new one. This contrivance having given univerſal ſatiſfaction, a very advantageous ſpot was choſen for the new Reduction, which was called St. Ignatius; and every one repaired to his deſtination with ſo much pleaſure, that good harmony and order ſpeedily returned.

TUCUMAN now enjoyed a tolerable degree of peace and tranquillity, in conſequence of the late expedition of its Governor; and the Jeſuits hoped more than ever to be able to force the obſtacles, that had hitherto impeded the eſtabliſhment of the Goſpel in Chaco. Though the dread of ſlavery, on one hand; and, on the other, the bad example, which the Spaniards often gave the Barbarians of that country, had hitherto fruſtrated all their attempts, they ſtill expected that by their perſeverance the ſeed of God's word might at laſt be made to take in a ground drenched with the blood of their brethren, and watered with their own ſweat. The manner, in which ſome of theſe people were treated, after they had been firſt humbled, was another thing that encreaſed their hopes, as it might ſerve to convince theſe Barbarians, that no deſigns upon their liberty lurked under the invitations given them to embrace the Goſpel. The bad example, therefore, of the old Chriſtians being now the chief obſtacle to their ſucceſs; in order to remove it, they made miſſions and gave retreats in all the Spaniſh towns; and their endeavours were crowned with all the ſucceſs they expected from them. They, after-

wards

wards, visited all the lesser settlements in the country; and then went in quest of the Spaniards to the very mountains, where several had settled, probably to be more at liberty to give a full career to their passions. God gave such a plentiful blessing to these their labours, that the whole Province, in a short time, put on another aspect. Libertinism entirely vanished; ill-got goods were restored, or applied to charitable uses; scandals were repaired by publick penances; and frequent exercises of piety, and constant attendance upon Divine Service, succeeded to profane revelry and gross debauchery.

The Province of La Plata was very far from enjoying the same tranquillity with that of Tucuman. The same Abipones, who had reduced the city of Santafé to the terrible distress described by the Bishop of Buenos Ayres in his letter to his Catholick Majesty, had been for a longer time threatening that of Corrientes with a much heavier blow. Some advantages, which the garrison of this place had gained over these Barbarians, made the inhabitants hope, they would now at least give over all thoughts of molesting them; but such losses, it seems, were not sufficient to humble an enemy like this. The Abipones judged better of the Spaniards, than the Spaniards judged of them. They disappeared for a time; and, when they imagined they had by that means sufficiently lulled the inhabitants of Corrientes, they returned suddenly within three leagues of that place, before the inhabitants suspected any thing of their approach; and, on their arrival at the first plantations, murdered twenty six persons, and carried off a greater number of prisoners of all ages and both sexés.

A few days after, they made their appearance on another side of the country; killed and carried off a still greater number of Spaniards; and retired without being pursued. Upon this, so great and general a conster-

consternation seized the town and its environs, that the inhabitants let slip a fine opportunity of revenging themselves. Those, who lived in the country, had now no resource left but in the neighbouring Reductions, to which they fled not only for shelter but subsistence. The town itself must have at last fallen into the hands of the Barbarians, had they not suddenly set out for their villages, to secure their prisoners and their plunder, and get drunk at the expence of the Spaniards.

I have already taken notice, that these Barbarians had concluded a peace with the inhabitants of Santafé; but, nevertheless, continued their depredations, on pretence that they were only bound not to kill any one. The Governor of the Province, desirous to obtain the same terms, if he could get no better, for the town and territory of Corrientes, charged the King's Lieutenant, Don Francis de Vera Muzica, to enter into a negotiation with them. Don Francis began by representing to them, that, after concluding a peace with the Governor of the Province, it was no longer lawful for them to attack a town of his Government, as every part of it should have the benefit of the treaty. He, then, told them, that, if they did not give over molesting the inhabitants of Corrientes, he should be obliged to unite all his forces to bring them to reason, and that they would repent, when it was too late, their having obliged him to it.

The Barbarians listened to these threats and remonstrances with a good deal of indifference, and departed without coming to any conclusion. A short time after, however, some of their Caciques expressed a desire of living upon good terms with the Spaniards; some Mocovis, who, in 1730, had taken refuge among the Abiponés during the expedition of Don Stephen de Urizar, and now in a manner formed but one people with them, having even assisted

them

them in all their wars, brought over the rest. After the peace had been concluded for the town of Santafé, the inhabitants were not a little surprized to see the Mocovis flock to it in crowds; and even bring their wives and children with them. Curiosity having led them; and their example, some of the Abipones; to the Jesuits College, the Fathers of it received both in a very friendly manner, and took advantage of the good humour it put them into, and their surprize and pleasure at every thing new they saw, especially the manner in which Divine service was celebrated, to make them hear reason concerning their depredations in the territories of Santafé, and their hostilities against the town of Corrientes.

THIS attempt having had the wished-for success; the Fathers improved it to inspire them with a liking to the Christian Religion, and found it much easier than they expected. Their first conquest was a Cacique called Anacaigui, who had no sooner surrendered himself than he waited on Don Francis Xavier Echaqué, who then commanded in the place, and seemed to be animated with all the apostolical spirit of the Saint, whose name he bore. The Cacique told him, that, if he would grant him a Father of the Company, and a spot of ground sufficient for the support of a Reduction, he would collect all those of his nation, who depended on him. Don Francis received him in the most affectionate manner; assigned him lands in the neighbourhood of the place, where Santafé first stood; and obtained a promise of the Provincial's hearty concurrence, as soon as the Governor of the Province should approve of this new establishment.

To obtain this approbation, Don Francis immediately dispatched a proper letter to the Governor, in conjunction with the magistrates of the city; and the Gover-

Governor not only approved what had been done already, but exhorted Don Francis to lose no time in setting about so pious and useful a work, and spare no expence to give it a solid foundation, as all the money he might want on the occasion should be made good to him out of the Royal Treasury. Upon this, Don Francis immediately sent off an express to the Provincial, to put him in mind of his promise; and, though this Father did not think proper to appoint a Missionary, till he should be satisfied that the Reduction in question would be allowed the same privilege with that enjoyed by the Guaranis; namely that of not being given in command; yet, as he made no doubt of the Governor's having both authority and goodwill enough to grant it, he immediately chose among the many Religious, who offered themselves for that purpose, Father Francis Burghez, whom he had a little before that appointed Professor of Divinity in the university of Corduba. One of the Provincial's reasons for preferring Father Burghez to several others, was, that they were too old to learn a language, the principles of which no one had as yet endeavoured to lay down.

The Mocovis no sooner heard of the arrival of the pastor appointed to govern them, than all those, who had formed a resolution to embrace the Christian Religion, flocked to the College, to express their joy at it, and promise a punctual obedience to all his commands. At first, he could only speak to them by an interpreter; but he applied himself so diligently to the study of their language, that in a short time he was able to make them understand him. They were all by this fixed and housed in the Reduction, which was called after St. Francis Xavier; and Father Michel de Zea came there soon after to assist Father Burghez. The proselytes met very assiduously to hear the instructions of the Missionaries, who were soon obliged

to yield to the intreaties of the Cacique and several others, and admit them to Baptism. It appearing soon after, that the bad example of the Spaniards at Santafé contributed not only to hinder many of those who still held out from embracing the Christian Religion, but might likewise prove detrimental to those who had already surrendered, a resolution was taken to remove the Reduction to a greater distance from that City, and place it on the banks of the river. This resolution was no sooner made known, than not only such of the Mocovis as had hitherto expressed the greatest aversion to the Christian religion, but even a great number of Abipones, declared, that, in case it came to be put in execution, they would follow the Christians. Nay a Cacique of the Abipones assured the Missionaries, that he would bring all his subjects to them. He even engaged another Cacique of his nation, a man in great credit, to promise to accompany him with all those, over whom he had any authority; and all were as good as their word.

THE Mataguayos, about this time, behaved in quite a different manner. One of their Caciques having come to Salta, and requested the Governor to send home with him a Father of the Company to instruct him and his countrymen in the Christian Religion, Father Castanares immediately offered himself for that purpose, though he still laboured under the relicks of a most cruel and inveterate disorder, of which and the cause of it, it may not be improper to give some account. Some years before, he had been ordered by his superiors to make an excursion in quest of that grand object, an easy and safe communication between the Provinces of Tucuman and Paraguay; and, on his return home, for want of meeting with any elementary water that was potable, was forced to put up with what he found in a kind of water-melon, called by the people of the country *Obocura*.

But

But, as he, and ſome Neophytes who accompanied him in this expedition, did not know that the Indians, who uſed this fruit, always took a little pimento after it, to correct its extreme crudity and coldneſs, they fell into a diſorder, of which one of them ſoon died. As to Father Caſtanarez, though he ſurvived, he ſuffered, from time to time, ſuch cruel pains, that on their ſeizing him he uſed to fall on the ground, and roll about it like a man who had loſt his ſenſes by the bite of ſome venomous animal. Nor had he the conſolation to know, that the little river *Yababory*, to which he penetrated, fell into the Paraguay, as has been ſince diſcovered.

Father Castanarez and his company were tolerably well received in the firſt town of the Mataguayos they came to; however, it was not long before he had a preſentiment of what was to happen. He, therefore, exhorted a rich but devout Spaniard, called Francis Azoca, who had been his penitent for ſome time, and had followed him in this ſpiritual expedition, to expiate, as he ſaid himſelf, the ſins of his youth, to make the beſt of his way home. But Azoca proteſted he would live and die with him. The Neophytes, however, who accompanied the Father, prevailed upon him to remain where he was, till he ſaw more of the Cacique that had invited him. But all theſe precautions proved uſeleſs. A few days after, the Cacique finding that the Father and Azoca were alone, the Neophytes being gone into a neighbouring wood to cut wood for a chapel, fell upon them ſo ſuddenly with his Indians, as ſcarce to leave them time to make God an offering of their lives. The treacherous Cacique diſpatched the Father with his own hands, while Azoca expired by thoſe of the other Indians.

But, though the Mataguayos were treacherous enough to behave in this manner, they had not courage

rage enough to declare themſelves openly. The Tobas and ſome of their neighbours were the firſt to make freſh incurſions into Tucuman. But the Camp maſter Don Felix Arias, Governor of the Province, and the King's Lieutenant, Don Francis de Barreda, ſoon put a ſtop to their progreſs. They both entered Chaco; the firſt, with two hundred and eighty men of the militia of Salta and Jujuy; and, between the months of May 1745 and July 1746, cleared all the frontiers; made upwards of one hundred and fifty priſoners; and erected ſeveral forts to cover theſe two places. In a word, his endeavours to ſecure the Province againſt future inſults ſucceeded ſo well, that women and children could now walk alone, where, before, the beſt armed men were afraid to ſhew themſelves.

On his return to Salta, he was greatly ſurprized to meet with one hundred and fifty Mataguayos, who were coming to offer their ſervice to him, and aſſure him they deteſted Gallinazzo's perfidy. To this he anſwered, that he was reſolved to make another incurſion into Chaco as ſoon as the weather would permit; and, if they perſiſted in the ſentiments they now expreſſed, they might then come and join him there. They promiſed they would, and kept their promiſe. He penetrated a great way into the country, and they ſerved him well. Upon this, not only the whole nation made peace with the Spaniards, and declared themſelves againſt all their enemies; but, on Father Pons's going ſoon after to viſit them, received him with the greateſt demonſtrations of friendſhip and joy. They all conjured him to take upon him the care of their ſouls, and promiſed to liſten to him with the moſt perfect docility.

The King's Lieutenant, Don Francis de Bareda, met with equal ſucceſs. He marched againſt the Mocovis, who had renewed their inroads and depredations; killed a great number of them; took a

great

great many prisoners; rescued a lady of Salta, whom they were carrying off with a Mulato servant into slavery: retook all the plunder they had, and crowned so glorious a campaign by an act of disinterestedness and generosity, which did him the greatest honour. He distributed among his men, who consisted chiefly of country people, all the plunder he could dispose of, without keeping any part of it for himself.

The city of Corduba, already considered as the capital of Tucuman, was very far from enjoying the same tranquillity with Salta and Juguy. A party of Abipones, commanded by a Cacique, who had taken the name *Benavidez*, penetrated to the very gates of it, and renewed all the horrors so often experienced by the other districts of this Province. Benavidez even ventured to attack, in the year 1746, with eighteen men only, a convoy of waggons coming from Buenos Ayres; but a Spanish Gentleman, called Joseph Galerza, and Brother John Angel de Amilaga, Agent to the College of St. Michael, saved all the men who conducted it, by their prudence and bravery, except a slave belonging to the first, whom the Barbarians carried off, and a young Spaniard who died a few days after of his wounds. A second party of the same Indians surprized and carried off another convoy on its way from Corduba to Santafé, pretty near *Rio Tercero*; and killed eight and twenty Spaniards; amongst whom was Father de Santiago Herrero, who had just finished his studies at Corduba, and was going to inure himself to apostolical labours in the Guarani Missions; his body was not found till some time after; when it was buried on the banks of the River. At length, however, so many Spaniards took the field, that the Barbarians were glad to retire, though not till they had done mischief enough in the district of Corduba

Cordova to make the inhabitants of it long remember them.

DURING these transactions in Tucuman, the Parana and Uruguay Reductions fell a prey to another kind of enemy, against which strength can do nothing, and courage avails but very little. This was hunger, with all the evils that usually attend it. The Missionaries were more than once on the point of seeing this hitherto so flourishing a Church destroyed or dispersed. In 1745, frosts, such as had not been in the memory of man, and showers of hail equally unusual, followed by a deluge of locusts, destroyed every thing that had been committed to the earth; and then a drought, altogether as extraordinary, in all the southern parts, which had suffered less by the frost, hail and locusts, reduced them to the same situation; so that the earth this year produced no crops of any kind.

BUT, if this was the rudest tryal to which the virtue of these new Christians had ever been put, it was likewise that, in which their faith and confidence in God, and their resignation to his divine will, shone forth with greatest lustre. Their pastors, however, saw very well, that, unless expedients could be found to procure them subsistence of some kind or another, they must unavoidably disperse, and ramble to a great distance to look for it themselves; and thereby, for want of cultivating and sowing their lands, render the evil incurable. They, therefore, undertook, with no other funds but those of Providence, to supply the wants of all; and God gave a blessing to their endeavours. Not one of their flock could complain of his wanting the necessaries of life. What is more surprizing, the Neophytes of this Province, who, at the close of the year 1744, amounted to no more than eighty four thousand and forty six souls, amounted,

at the close of the following year, to eighty-seven thousand two hundred and forty.

GOD was pleased to crown the joy of the Missionaries at this providential delivery, by the discovery of the fugitive Tobatines, in quest of whom they had been some years past ransacking, with infinite labour and fatigue, all the woods and mountains of the country, without being able to meet with the least track of them. An Indian, who had likewise deserted from Our Lady of Sainte-Foi, after rambling about for a long time without well knowing which way he went, found himself one day in the midst of them. They had, it seems, settled in a place, which afforded them abundance of all manner of grain and pulse, the food they most delighted in. Though they received him very kindly, he was so much concerned at the step he had taken, that, not doubting but the news of such a fortunate discovery would facilitate his pardon, he immediately returned to his Reduction to give an account of it. Upon this, Father Lazarus Garcia, who governed that Church, immediately dispatched some Indians to enquire into the truth of his report. The Tobatines not only received these Indians with great kindness, but requested them to engage some Fathers to come, and take charge of them again in the place where they now resided; saying, that they should never be able to prevail on themselves to remove to any other.

UPON this, Father de Yegros, who had fatigued most in looking out for them, and Father Planez, set out for their Village. But, before they could arrive there, these Indians, who had lately had a bloody war to maintain with the Spaniards, rather than be any longer exposed to the attacks of such troublesome neighbours, set fire to their cabins, and retired to the centre of the forest, where, though they wanted for every thing, they began to fear, as a much worse

evil, lest the Missionaries would endeavour to bring them back to Our Lady of Sainte-Foi. But the Fathers soon quieted their fears, by sending back two Guaranis, they had taken along with them, for provisions for the Tobatines, and all the necessaries requisite to lodge themselves and build a Church. The Cacique of the Tobatines, who had deserted from Sainte-Foi, joined them, after recommending to his wife and children, and two other families, who could not be prevailed upon to desert with him, to come and join him there. The new Reduction composed of these Indians was called *St. Joachim de Taruma.*

Two Reductions more were formed, at the same time, in different parts of the country; one, by the Fathers of the Company, among the Guenoas, a nation settled to the east of the Uruguay Reductions, from which they are separated by immense forests; the other, by the secular clergy, among the peaceable Vilelas. But these establishments were attended with no other trouble, than that of assuring the Guenoas, that they should not be obliged to remove from their country, but live where they might always have the woods between them and the Guaranis; and that of providing funds for removing the Vilelas from among the infidels, with whom they were surrounded on all sides. The light of the gospel began likewise to penetrate into Tucuman on the side of Chaco. The Lulles were returned to their primitive fervour, and had been lately reinforced by a considerable number of *Isistinez*, a peaceable, but wandering people.

THE nations, which now principally engag- 1740
ed the attention of the Jesuits of Paraguay, 1747
were those inhabiting that tract of land called
Terra Magellanica. It is only within these thirty years, that any of them have been distinctly known,

 except

except the *Pampas*, a people perpetually roving about in plains extending from Buenos Ayres to the town of Mendosa in the province of Chili, without the least rising ground to bound the sight, or check the impetuosity of those winds called by the Spaniards *Vientos Pamperos*, which often excite the most furious storms on the Rio de la Plata. A letter from Father Manuel Garcia, a Jesuit, dated the 7th of June 1746, gives some general account of the other nations, and made me hope for more particulars concerning them. But if any are come, I have not as yet seen them. However, I can say enough of them from Father Garcia's letter, to shew, that the geographers are all mistaken in their ideas of this country and its inhabitants.

According to this Missionary, all those called Pampas are not of the same origin, though they are all descended from the inhabitants of that part of the Cordilliera, which they call *Serranos*. They are even divided into two tribes, under the distinct names of *Puelches* and *Tuelches*. The latter are known at Buenos Ayres by the name of *Pampas Magdalenistas*, because, in a time of famine, they spread themselves round a small Spanish town called the *Magdalen*; and the former, by the name of *Pampas Matanceros*, because, at the same time, and for the same reason, they drew near the town of *Matanca*, which is likewise situated at no great distance from Buenos Ayres. Some of the Tuelches inhabit mountains, in the neighbourhood of which there is a volcano, and are for that reason called Highland Tuelches. The rest live on the banks of the *Rio de los Sauces*, or *river of Sallies*, which runs East and West; and, after dividing into two branches, empties itself into the Magellanic sea. As to the most southern part of this continent, it is inhabited by two other nations or tribes; one called *Aucaès*; the other, *Peguenchès* or *Pehuenchès*. The first are settled in the latitude of *Baldivia*, a town of

Chili;

Chili; the ſecond extend, in little cluſters, from a ſmall way North of Baldivia to the ſtreights of Magellan. This diviſion ſeems to leave no room for the *Patagons*. Beſides, it is certain, that, among the nations I have mentioned, there has not as yet been ſeen ſo much as a ſingle man, of that gigantick ſtature, and monſtrous figure, under which the Patagons have been repreſented, though no pains were omitted to find them out on occaſion of the enterprize I ſhall preſently ſpeak of; nor has there even been found ſo much as a ſkeleton, to countenance the opinion of this country having ever been inhabited by giants.

The language of the Pampas is not the ſame with that of the Magellaniſts, who live farther South. Even the dialects derived reſpectively from that of the Pampas and the other Magellaniſts have their peculiar difficulties. They all, however, underſtand each other tolerably well, having invented a common language, in which they make uſe of ſigns eſtabliſhed by common conſent, as is practiſed by ſeveral other ſavages of America. They are, like the reſt of the South American Indians, light, inconſtant, and irreſolute; but ſurpaſs moſt of them in arrogance and preſumption, though there is not, perhaps, in the whole world, a people who live more wretchedly; eſpecially the Highland Tuelches, who, notwithſtanding, don't think themſelves inferior to any people on the face of the earth, not even the Spaniards; though they have ſo much opportunity for compariſons, ſufficient, one would imagine, to correct their vanity. This poverty of the Magellaniſts is entirely owing to their lazineſs, in which they glory. There are none but thoſe, who have lived in the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh plantations, that have accuſtomed themſelves to labour. And even theſe do but little; never working but through mere neceſſity.

The Highland Tuelches in particular, though their country is, in ſome ſeaſons, very cold, had rather go

naked, than take the leaſt trouble to procure themſelves cloaths. They content themſelves with buying blankets and ſtuffs of the Aucaes, who have ſome flocks, and work up their wool. The Aucaes, likewiſe, raiſe ſome wheat, which they bruiſe between two ſtones, in order to make a kind of cakes of it. They have copper, and other metals, which they run down together, to make bits and ſpurs; but it is in a very ſmall quantity, as they think it too hard labour. They never kill their ſheep for food; but, when hard put to, bleed them, and drink their blood. The moſt common food of the Highland Tuelches conſiſts in the fleſh of mares, foxes, oſtriches, and guanacos. The Pampas, in general, are very fond of beef; and carry off all the oxen they poſſibly can from the Spaniſh plantations; for, though their vaſt plains are covered with wild oxen, rather than be at the trouble of running them down, they chooſe to run the riſk of ſtealing the tame cattle of others.

Those, who have had moſt intercourſe with the Spaniards, have learned gaming from them; and it is now become their favourite paſſion. They ſpend whole days at play; and ſometimes whole nights; even without taking any thing to ſupport nature. They are likewiſe the moſt ſelfiſh people in the world. One muſt be continually giving, to be on good terms with them; and the more one gives, the more they aſk. They muſt be paid beforehand to do the ſmalleſt ſervice; and yet think nothing of running leagues to ſteal a trifle. They buy to ſell again; and are as ſharp in making a bargain, as they are bold in committing a robbery. They are moreover addicted to the groſſeſt vices; and have not the leaſt idea of that ſhame ſo natural to the reſt of mankind.

They ſeem, however, to have ſome diſtinct idea of God; and their languages have terms to expreſs what they mean by him. But it has not as yet been diſ-

covered,

covered, that they yield him any particular worship. A Spaniard, indeed, who had been a long time in slavery among the Highland Tuelches, assured Father Garcia, that he had heard them pronounce his name with an appearance of great affection. There is, likewise, some reason to believe, that the Aucaes adore the sun; for, when they have killed any beast, they throw the blood of it towards the luminary, to express, as it were, their joy and gratitude. 'Tis likewise said, that the women present their new-born children to the moon, to acknowledge, as it were, that they are indebted to her liberality for them; or beg of her to shed upon them her favourable influence.

They all hold the immortality of the soul. As soon as any one dies, the old women assemble in the deceased's cabin; and, seating themselves about the corpse, begin to shed tears, and howl with all their might; the relations of the deceased answering in the same strain. After some time spent in this manner, they carry the corpse to the grave, and bury with it every thing that belonged to the deceased. They are likewise very careful not to leave any thing standing, that might serve to put them in mind of him; for which reason, as soon as they have taken him out of his cabin, they reduce it to ashes. They even deem it an ill omen to dream of him. They are slaves to many other superstitions, and have great faith in witches, who boast of their conversing frequently with devils; for none but the women deal in witchcraft.

Amongst them, a man to get a wife must buy her. But, then, he may part with her when he pleases, without any ceremony, and purchase another. The Caciques and rich men may have as many wives as they please; when a husband or wife happen to die without children; in the first case, the deceased husband's brother, if he has any, takes his place; and, in the latter, the deceased wife's sister, if she is a wi-

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dow, and has children, takes hers. Both fathers and mothers carry their tenderness for their children to the most extravagant lengths. They never chastise, or so much as reprimand, them, even when treated by them with the greatest insolence; if they happen to strike them in a fit of passion, as soon as it is over, they make an entertainment in order to be reconciled to them. The Father speaks to his son in the plural, *you*; and the son never answers but in the singular, *thou*. This irregularity is attended with all the disorders which may naturally be expected from it; and whereas, amongst most other nations, it is in the hearts of the children that the seed of the Gospel first begins to take root, they are those among the Magellanists whom it is most difficult to make any impression upon.

For this reason, though the Pampas had never declared openly against the Spaniards, and several of their Caciques even affected to call themselves by the christian names of Saints and the surnames of Spaniards, the Jesuits of Paraguay began in a manner to despair of being ever able to make true Christians of them, when, in 1739, two Chiefs of the Lowland, and two Chiefs of the Highland, Pampas, unexpectedly came to Buenos Ayres, and requested the Camp-master, Don John of St. Martin, to prevail on some Fathers of the Company to take the trouble of instructing them in the truths of our holy Religion. Don John immediately gave notice of this unexpected event to Don Miguel de Salcedo, Governor of the Province, who wrote directly to Father Machoni, at that time Provincial of the Jesuits, to engage him to embrace so fine an opportunity of spreading amongst these people the light of the Gospel. The Provincial having proposed the affair to his brethren at Buenos Ayres, Father Matthias Strobl and Father Manuel Querini chearfully offered themselves, and were accordingly named, to carry it into execution.

As the Caciques desired to have a tract of land on which a Reduction might be formed, Father Strobl set out to look for one; and at length fixed on a plain covered with little woods, two leagues from the Magellanic Sea, between a rivulet and the little *Salt River*; and just opposite Cape St. Mary. As soon as Father Querini had notice of it, he communicated it to the Caciques, who immediately disposed their vassals to follow them, and made the necessary preparations to take possession of their new territory. Accordingly, all the members of this infant Colony set out, on the 6th of May 1740, with their two Missionaries. They had travelled but a little way, when God gave evident proofs that the time of his shewing mercy to these infidels was at last arrived. The wife of a Cacique, who was suddenly taken ill, applied for baptism with the greatest earnestness; and, after receiving it, died in the finest sentiments the Christian religion can inspire, while one of the Missionaries was reading the prayers for departing souls. A child soon followed her to eternal glory, having been a little before regenerated in the waters of baptism. But the greatest wonder of all was, that the husband of the first, and the parents of the latter, appeared quite taken up with the happiness of seeing these two new Christians go take possession of the heavenly mansions in the name of their nation.

THEY all arrived at the end of their journey the 26th of May, being Ascension day; and the first thing they did was to erect a cross, at the foot of which the Missionaries directly celebrated the divine mysteries. Some Guaranis, whom they had taken along with them, were then set about building a chapel and cabins to lodge the whole colony. The Cacique, who had lost his wife during the journey, was appointed Corregidor of the new Reduction, pursuant to the power with which the Governor

had invested the Missionaries for that purpose; and three others were named to the three civil employments next in dignity. The rest of the civil employments were bestowed on the other principal men of the two nations, who now seemed to form but one; and every thing done by the Missionaries happily gave both the greatest satisfaction.

The fathers had no occasion to call the grown-up men and women, or even the children, to listen to their instructions; they all flocked to the chapel for that purpose of themselves, and with the greatest ardour; the longing they all had to receive baptism proving a powerful spur to them. For this reason, as they understood the Spanish language, though not used to speak it, better than the fathers could speak theirs, they begged of them to give their instructions in Spanish. God was pleased to reward this their fervour by many singular favours, the report of which spreading abroad brought a vast multitude of Indians to the Conception. But curiosity was the only motive that brought most of them; and, accordingly, the fathers had some reason to repent their having admitted them without previous examination. It is inconceivable what the Missionaries had to suffer from these new comers, who had not the least notion of that decency, which the most unimproved reason generally prescribes; were utterly impatient of any restraint; and proud and insolent to the last degree. They laughed at the instructions bestowed on them; repaid the services done them with ingratitude; and seemed quite deaf to the entreaties of the Missionaries, and the punishments with which they threatened them in the name of God. Their children, whilst the fathers instructed them, did nothing but play or quarrel; but, at length, the patience and constancy of the ministers of a God, who has so much recommended the practice of these virtues

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to them, joined to the good example of the first inhabitants of the Reduction, overcame all these obstacles, and most of these, at first so unpromising recruits, sincerely embraced the Christian religion.

It was, nevertheless, found absolutely necessary to speak of labour to all in general with the greatest reserve; these Indians, as I have already observed, having an aversion to it, which at first appears invincible. But this tenderness; and the example of the Guaranis, whom the fathers detained for some time, and of the fathers themselves, who spared themselves in nothing; effected in a great measure what many at first thought impossible. The Indians were at last brought to till and sow their lands; the well-grounded hopes of a plentiful crop serving not a little to render their labour tolerable. After getting in their harvest, they did not fail to express their acknowledgment to those who had been instrumental in procuring them that happiness, by the most solemn assurance of an inviolable attachment; and they were as good as their word; though some persons, who imagined it their interest to have them in their neighbourhood, omitted nothing to inspire them with a dislike to the Missionaries; and, at the same time, persuade the Missionaries, that they were losing their time and trouble upon a people, whom it was impossible to convert, or even to civilize.

As soon, however, as they were brought to relish labour, divine grace, finding no longer the same obstacle to its influence, soon completed its work; and a general fervour ensued. They carried their earnestness for instruction so far, as even at night, to flock to the Missionaries, and interrupt their rest; to have points of the Christian doctrine cleared up to them, or to beg they might make them repeat what they were to learn by heart. But even this was far less surprizing, than the dependence in which men like

like theſe conſented to live; for they now no longer offered to go out of the town without the leave of their Paſtors; and required it, in writing, as often as they wanted to go to Buenos Ayres.

The accounts given by them, to ſuch of their countrymen as they happened to meet with on theſe occaſions, of the happineſs they enjoyed under the mild and affectionate government of their Paſtors, brought numbers of them to the Conception from all quarters; ſo that nothing was now to be ſeen but the greateſt peace and harmony; and nothing to be heard, by night as well as day, but the praiſes of the Moſt High. But things had ſoon like to take another turn. The Miſſionaries had received, towards this new eſtabliſhment, but four hundred livres from the Governor, on the King's account, and ſeven hundred more from private perſons; with a few oxen, ſheep, and other uſeful animals, and ſome grain for ſeed; all which were conſumed before the firſt crop. An extreme drought, and a ſevere froſt at a ſeaſon it was leaſt expected, made the ſecond fail; at the ſame time that the crops about Buenos Ayres failed likewiſe; and what little corn remained in the publick granaries, was deſtroyed by fire through the careleſſneſs of ſome ſoldiers; ſo that the Reduction was left almoſt entirely without any reſources. So ſevere a trial, however, was not ſufficient to ſtagger the faith of the Neophytes; they had even ſpirits enough to ſurround their town with a ſtout palliſade, to ſecure themſelves againſt ſurprize; and build more cabins in the town, and ſome in the country for thoſe ſent there to tend their cattle. A Chief of the Spaniſh ſhepherds had the charity to direct them in the laſt part of their work.

But the greateſt danger the colony had as yet been expoſed to, was from a quarter, from which there was, in all appearance, leaſt reaſon to expect it.

it. The Spaniards had been at war, ſince the year 173[illegible], with the Highland Pampas, who had begun their hoſtilities by plundering ſome habitations not far from Buenos Ayres. However, as the blow had, probably, been received in the night, the Spaniards, believing it to have been given by the Lowland Pampas, put ſome of them in priſon; it is true, they did not keep them there long; but, while they did, they treated them ſo ill, that the firſt uſe the captives made of their liberty was to engage ſeveral other Pampas to unite with them, to obtain revenge, and even join the Highland Pampas, who, it now appeared, were thoſe who had committed the miſchief.

The four firſt campaigns ended without any remarkable ſucceſs on either ſide. At laſt, in the year 1740, a Highland Cacique, ſtiled by the Spaniards *Cacique Bravo*, exaſperated by the loſs of a nephew of his in a ſkirmiſh with them, and at the Spaniards wanting to render his whole nation reſponſible for diſorders committed by a few individuals, took the field with a numerous army, and marched ſtraight towards the town of the Magdalen, fully reſolved to waſte it with fire and ſword; and then treat, in the ſame manner, the Conception, from whence the Spaniards had taken guides to penetrate into the Cordilliere.

He was in full march before the Spaniards ſuſpected any danger; and ſurprized Magdalen within two days after the Miſſionaries of the Conception had ſent notice of his approach to the Lieutenant General, Don Barthelemi de Canales, who commanded in theſe quarters. He put two hundred of the inhabitants to the ſword, and took a great number of them priſoners; whom, with all the cattle, and every thing elſe that fell into his hands, he ſent off, for greater ſecurity, into the mountains.

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This done, he prepared to march to the Conception, after ſending ſome ſpies there to know if the inhabitants expected him. Happily, the Governor of the Province, on the firſt advice of what had happened at the Magdalen, had ſent forty ſoldiers and ſome artillery to the Conception, not doubting but the Cacique would fall upon it in its turn. The ſpies got near the place the ſame night this reinforcement entered it; and, as they were approaching the palliſade in the dark, a centinel, hearing a noiſe, fired a cannon, and thereby let them ſee that the inhabitants were not to be ſurprized, or attacked with impunity. Upon this, the Cacique Bravo thought proper to retreat. The Governor ſent four detachments of cavalry after him; but, after purſuing him about twenty leagues, they were obliged to return for want of water and forage.

The inhabitants of the Conception had ſcarce time to take breath after this delivery, when they ſaw themſelves in danger of meeting with worſe treatment from the Spaniards, than the Cacique Bravo intended to have given them. All on a ſudden, a report, whoſe author could never be diſcovered, was ſpread at Buenos Ayres, that theſe new Chriſtians had formed a league with the enemy, to fall upon and deſtroy that capital; and what is ſtill more ſurprizing, almoſt all the inhabitants gave, or pretended to give, credit to it. It was to no purpoſe, that ſome Spaniards, who had been taken at the Magdalen, and afterwards made their eſcape, averred that it was the Conception itſelf that the Cacique Bravo intended to have deſtroyed. They could undeceive nobody, for nobody was willing to be undeceived. Nay, many perſons, to whom the reſt were but an echo, could not behold, with any ſort of patience, an eſtabliſhment of converted Indians, that were not liable to be given in command; ſo that, two of theſe Neophytes happening

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to arrive about this time at Buenos Ayres, though provided with a written leave from Father Querini, were seized, and thrown into prison.

The Governor, indeed, soon set them at liberty, but they staid long enough at Buenos Ayres to hear every thing that people there thought concerning their townsmen and pastors. The first, it was publickly affirmed, were no better than a gang of traitors, who all deserved to be put to the sword; and, as the latter, they were the worst enemies of the state. 'Tis inconceivable, what an effect the report of these discourses made on the poor Indians at the Conception, who now, without any provocation, saw themselves threatned by the Spaniards with the same misfortunes, which they had been so lately exposed to for being their friends. The Highlanders amongst them trembled more than the rest; and one of their Caciques, persuaded that he would, if he remained, be one of the first victims the Spaniards would sacrifice to their fury, thought proper to take shelter in the mountains. He acquainted but one friend with his design; and being requested by this friend to see and prevail on his countrymen to put an end, by a good peace, to a war, by which all must be losers, he made answer: "It is what I intend; I retire merely "to avoid the unjust persecution of the Spaniards; "and I will let them see that they do not know how "to distinguish between their true friends, and those "who aim at nothing but creating them new ene"mies."

Nevertheless, the flight of this Cacique confirmed the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres in their suspicions. But Don Diego Ortiz de Rozas, who had just succeeded Don Miguel de Salcedo as Governor of Rio de la Plata, having very fortunately declared for the Neophytes, and Father Querini having written to Don Francis Suarez, their protector *ex officio*, to beg

beg of him to quash these reports, people at last began to hold their tongues.

This storm was scarce blown over, when the whole Reduction began again to tremble, at the apprehensions of the Highlanders coming to pay them another visit. What gave occasion to this panic, was the Governor's withdrawing the forty soldiers he had sent there, on a false rumour of an English squadron coming to lay siege to Buenos Ayres. But, this time, the Missionaries found it no difficult matter to quiet their fears, by representing to them, that they were in no danger of being surprized; and by giving their word, that they should not want for assistance in case of a formal attack.

The new Governor on his side, spared no pains to convince the Highlanders and their allies, that the war they were carrying on against him was grounded on a mistake; and that it was as much their interest, as that of the Spaniards, to put an end to it. So early as the year 1742, he had directed the Missionaries of the Conception to send one of their proselytes, sister to the Cacique Bravo, and a woman of great resolution and fidelity, to her brother, in order to make him listen to reason. The Fathers found no difficulty in making her accept the commission; and she set out with some well mounted Neophytes, whom they thought proper to send with her. They had scarce entered the mountains, when they found themselves obliged to stop short for want of water. Upon this she desired them to return home, and tell Father Querini that she had engaged to prevail on her brother to send Deputies to the Governor, to make with him a solid and lasting peace.

The Governor, having a long time waited to no purpose for a satisfactory answer, thought it would not be improper to terrify the enemy, in order to render him more tractable. He gave orders to Don Christopher

Christopher Cabral, Lieutenant to the Camp Master General, to set out for the mountains, with six hundred men, and offer peace to the Cacique; and, in case he refused it, take the most vigorous measures against him; and, at the same time, to facilitate the success of his negotiation, he obtained Father Strobl, a jesuit, from the Rector of the college of Buenos Ayres, to accompany him.

As the choice of Cabral, to command in this expedition, did not please all those who were to serve in it, several of them desired to have, for General, the Camp Master General himself, who had already carried on a war against the Highlanders with good success; and, on the Governor's refusing to comply with their request, two hundred of them, probably Indians, refused to march. Cabral, notwithstanding, took the field, with the rest; and, on his arrival at the *Sierra de Casuati*, in forty one degrees of South latitude, to which the Aucaes and Pegiunches often resort to buy mares flesh, received a visit from a Cacique, sovereign of almost all that country, attended by five other Caciques. But, the first thing this powerful Cacique did, was to make great complaints of the Spaniards; adding, that his whole nation was on the point of setting out, with a large body of more southerly Indians, to serve Buenos Ayres as the Cacique Bravo had done the Magdalen.

Father Strobl answered the Cacique's reproaches in a manner that satisfied him. He convinced him, that it was not the Spaniards who began the war; adding, however, that the Governor of Rio de la Plata was in a condition to carry it on with vigour and success. Some Highland Neophytes, whom the Missionaries had brought along with them, were not wanting, on their side, to inspire their countrymen with sentiments of peace, and were powerfully seconded

 by

by the Cacique Yaati (him, who had lately retired from the Assumption) who arrived in the mean time with news, that the Fathers of the company were labouring to bring about a general peace, which would be agreeable to all parties; that the Cacique Bravo's sister having given her brother the same account, he had, thereupon, resolved to send one of his relations to the Conception, to know, for certain, the dispositions of the Spaniards. At length, a cessation of hostilities, and an exchange of prisoners, were agreed upon. The Cacique Bravo even engaged to recover such of the Spaniards, as had been sold to the Aucaes and the Peguinches; and, then, made presents to all those who were charged with that commission, and to all the Caciques who were interested in it. This done, both parties separated with the greatest demonstrations of mutual friendship.

Nothing now remained but to have the treaty signed by the Governor of Rio de la Plata. Two Highland and two Peguinche Caciques offered themselves to be the bearers of it, and Don Christopher Cabral accepted their offer. Don Diego Ortiz de Rozas gave them a very kind reception, and made them very fine presents. There still, however, remained some difficulties concerning some Indian women, who, having been taken by the Spaniards and sent to the Conception, had there embraced the Christian Religion. As they would by no means consent to return home at the hazard of losing their faith, the Governor thought it his duty not to force them to it; and the Caciques, it appears, gave up the point. It is, at least, certain, that these generous Christians continued at the Conception, and that the Caciques, transported with the Governor's behaviour to them, promised to hasten, as much as in them lay, the enlargement of the Spanish prisoners.

Nothing

NOTHING now hindered the Missionaries from hoping, that the obstacles to their diffusing the light of the Gospel all over the vast Magellanic Region were now entirely removed. The Governor of Rio de la Plata, on his side, after thus so happily restoring peace to it, prepared to execute an order he had just received from the King his Master to visit the Reductions, and regulate the tribute in them, so as to leave no room for any further difficulties on that head. The Jesuits had most earnestly solicited this order, as the only method they could think of, to put an effectual stop to the calumnies daily invented against them in regard to these establishments; and, as soon as they heard of its arrival, Father de Rivarola repaired to Santafé, with a grand convoy of provisions, to conduct the Governor to Yapeya, where he intended to begin his visit.

DON DIEGO was on the point of setting out, when he received advice, that Don Joseph de Andonaegui, Brigadier of the King's armies, who was coming to succeed him, had been shipwrecked on the point of *los Corretès*, which lies about a league and a half from Monte Video; that he had been but just able to escape with his lady and servants in the long boat; the rest of the ship's company having perished soon after he had left the vessel, on her going to pieces. The new Governor, on his arrival at Buenos Ayres, delivered Don Diego the King's commissions, appointing him Governor and President of the Royal Audience of Chili; with leave to continue as Governor of Rio de la Plata, till the season should serve to repair to his new government. But, as it now served, Don Diego thought proper not to miss it.

THIS event caused the visit of the Reductions to be postponed to another time. For, besides that it was not fit the New Governor should leave the capital of his Government, till he had made himself suffi-

 ciently

ciently acquainted with the buſineſs of it, to prevent its ſuffering by his abſence; a ſecond order from the King, with the execution of which he was perſonally charged, obliged him to make ſuch preparations, as took up a great deal of his time. The purport of this new order was as follows. Philip V. on the firſt advice received by his Majeſty, that the Jeſuits had formed a Reduction, which already conſiſted of a great number of Pampas, and of the Highlanders inhabiting the Cordilliere, which ſeparates Chili from the Magellanic regions; and that they even intended to form a new Chriſtian Republick in that vaſt tract of land; had, by an edict of the 5th of November, 1741, given orders to Don Myguel de Salcedo, Governor of La Plata, to favour their project to the utmoſt of his power; and pay out of the treaſury whatever ſhould be found neceſſary for the ſupport of the Miſſionaries; the erection and ſervice of their chapels; and every other expence of their eſtabliſhments; and, beſides, allow them, as often as they ſhould have occaſion for it, an eſcort in the excurſions, which they might be obliged to make for that purpoſe.

The war, that ſoon after broke out between the Spaniards and the ſeveral nations who were to compoſe this new Republick, had hindered the Miſſionaries from doing more than ſupport their firſt Reduction; and we have but juſt now ſeen what pains it coſt them to prevent this project from being entirely laid aſide or defeated. But now, that peace was returned, and his Catholick Majeſty ſeemed to have the ſucceſs of ſo glorious an enterprize greatly at heart, there appeared no further obſtacle to it, eſpecially as the Cacique Bravo, gained over by his ſiſter, promiſed to receive ſuch of the Fathers of the Company, as were willing to ſettle in the mountains; and, as the ſouthern nations of this vaſt continent are not

not of so roving disposition as the rest, there appeared less difficulty in uniting them. Besides, there were, at the Conception, some women of these nations, who might, it was judged, be very serviceable in quality of interpreters and catechists to the Missionaries sent among them. Such was the present prospect; and Don Ortiz de Rozas was already taking measures with the Provincial of the Jesuits to take advantage of it, when his successor arrived at Buenos Ayres, the inhabitants of which began now to speak in a very different strain of the new Christians of the Conception. The share the latter had in making the late so much wanted, and so much wished for, peace, has convinced such of them, as before thought most unfavourably of them, that this Reduction, which had been represented as a den of traitors and thieves, was one of the strongest bulwarks of the province.

The fervour of these Indians was now at the highest pitch. All the chief men of them, besides two hundred other adults, and almost all the children, had been already baptized; and the rest applied for the same favour with the greatest earnestness. Nothing could surpass their assiduity at divine service, their eagerness to be instructed in the divine mysteries, their docility and sincere attachment to their Pastors. Their fields were well sowed and cultivated; their magazines well stored with corn and every other kind of provisions; their flocks on the encrease from day to day. In a word, so sudden and vast was the change in this roving and unsettled people, slaves to every vice, that it could scarce be credited, even by those who were eye-witnesses of it. But the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, in becoming their friends, had like to have proved their worst enemies.

It had not, as yet, it seems, been found possible to prevent these Indians from having a great deal of

communication with the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, as they were often obliged to go to that capital; especially during the war, and the negotiations for peace by which it was terminated. They were not only made to contract a liking for brandy, there; but even prevailed upon to bring quantities of it home with them, unknown to their Missionaries. By this means, drunkenness was introduced into the Reduction, (for those Indians know no bounds), and caused, in it, all those disorders that might naturally be expected from Barbarians so lately reclaimed. And, as none, at first, but the new proselytes gave into this excess, and they did it with such secresy, that it was a long time before the Missionaries could discover the source of the evil, and take proper measures to suppress it in its infancy; it broke out, all on a sudden, like a fire which does not shew itself, till it has acquired too much strength to meet with any resistance.

Hitherto, there had not appeared, at the Conception, any remains of the old enmity between the Pampas of the Magdalen and the Matanceros, between whom, as being of different tribes, there had subsisted an almost perpetual hostility. The Missionaries flattered themselves, that the Christian religion had made sincere friends of as many of them as had embraced it; but it seems their mutual animosity had not been stifled thereby beyond the power of liquor to awaken it. Both parties grew outrageous, and went to arms; and a great deal of blood was spilt on both sides. The Missionaries were no longer listened to; they were, even more than once, in danger of falling victims to their zeal to re-establish peace and harmony. At length, they found it absolutely necessary to apply to the Governor of the Province, who, on the first notice, sent some soldiers to the Conception. The most guilty were seized and sent prisoners

prisoners to Monte Video; and the soldiers remained at the Conception till all was quiet again. Proper measures were taken to hinder any more brandy from being sold to the Indians; and with the brandy vanished all the disorders it had been the occasion of.

THERE still, however, remained another inconveniency, which, at first, had not been sufficiently taken notice of. The Conception used to be annually visited by malignant disorders, while the beauty of the situation, with many other advantages peculiar to it, caused the source of these disorders to be overlooked. This was the lowness of the ground, in consequence of which it was often overflown by heavy rains, and rendered very unwholesome in summer. As soon as the Missionaries discovered the cause of the evil, they made it their business to look out for a better situation; and soon found one on a little rising ground well supplied with wood, four leagues further from the sea, in the latitude of thirty-five degrees. The Indians, whom it had been found so difficult to reconcile to the labours requisite for the first establishment, engaged in the present with so much unanimity and ardor, as sufficiently convinced their Pastors, that they were now sincerely reconciled to each other, and had, besides, conquered that lazy disposition, which proved the greatest obstacle in the way of their endeavours to reclaim and convert them.

THIS affair was scarce terminated, when there arrived at Buenos Ayres a King's frigate of eight guns, and one hundred and fifty tons, called the *Saint Anthony*, and commanded by Don Joachim de Olivarez, Regidor of Cadiz, the port from which she had been dispatched. Philip V. had ordered the pilots charged with the navigating of her, to be chosen from amongst the ablest in all Spain. The first was Don Diego Varela, a Biscayner; and the second, Don Basil Ra-

mirez, a Sevillian. His Majesty, had, likewise ordered, that Father Joseph de Quiroga, a Jesuit, who had much used the sea before he entered the company, and had the reputation of being a very skilful mariner, should accompany them. This Religious had, for some time past, been waiting for an opportunity of going to consecrate himself to the Paraguay Missions; and, therefore, embraced this with the greatest pleasure. As the frigate was destined to range, as near as possible, the western coast of the Magellanick Sea, from Buenos Ayres to the Streights of Magellan, Father de Quiroga was charged with the care of making such observations, as might be necessary to acquire a satisfactory knowledge of it. He had, likewise, orders to take with him, from Paraguay, two other Jesuits; and the choice fell on the Fathers Matthias Strobl and Joseph Cardiel. The chief intention of Philip V. in this undertaking, was to find, if there might not be Indians on this coast disposed to unite, under the conduct of the Jesuits, into Reductions on the model of the Conception; and embrace the Gospel. The second, to examine, if it had any convenient port, capable of being fortified, in order to afford shelter, in case of distress, to Spanish vessels; secure his subjects an easy passage into the country; and prevent other nations from making any settlements in it.

According to Father de Quiroga's account of this expedition, all the coast from the mouth of the Bay of Rio de la Plata to the Streights of Magellan, and which in some relations is called *the Coast of Patagons*, lies between the southern latitude of thirty six degrees forty minutes, and that of fifty two degrees twenty minutes. From Cape St. Anthony, the extreme point, on the western side, of the mouth of Rio de la Plata, to the Bay of St. George, it runs in a south-

west

west direction; from the Bay of St. George to *Cape Blanco*, north-west and south-east; north and south from Cape Blanco to the island of Kings; south-south-west from thence to the *Rio Gallegos*, forming, in that interval, several coves; and, in fine, south-east from the Rio Gallegos to the Cape of Virgins, that is to say, to the mouth of the Streights of Magellan. To the forty-third degree the land is low, and ships must keep wide of it. From the forty-fourth degree southwards to the Bay of St. Julian, the land is very high. To the latitude of forty-six degrees there is forty fathoms water till within half a league of the shore. From the Bay of St. Julian to the river of the Holy Cross, the land is low; a good bottom every where; and little strand. From the river of the Holy Cross to Rio Gallegos, the land is of a moderate height; and very low from thence to the Cape of Virgins. It is unsafe to approach the Cape of *las Matas* in the night-time, on account of the islands that lie opposite to it, and run a great way into the sea. The coast, from the island of Kings to the Bay of St. Julian, is not over safe, for which reason ships must keep at a good distance from it.

As to the winds, which reign in these seas during the spring and summer seasons, they are the north, the north-east, the west, and the south-west. The east and south-east winds, which would be the most dangerous of any, never blow during either of these seasons. A south-west wind swells the sea greatly; and one may be in a manner sure of finding it very high during the conjunctions, oppositions, and quarterly changes of the moon. The tides form one of the principal difficulties in this navigation. In some places, they rise six fathom, perpendicularly; and cause great variations in the currents, some of which run north;

and

and ſome, ſouth. When they meet, they change each other's directions to the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt.

There is no ſhelter for ſhips to be found any where, but in Port Deſire, and the Bays of St. Julian, and St. Gregory. There is, in the firſt, a ſpring, where, in caſe of neceſſity, ſhips may water. The reſt of the coaſt is quite dry, and without ſo much as a ſingle tree on it. There is ſcarce any place from one end of it to the other, except the Bay of St. Julian, that produces any fire-wood, abounds with fiſh, or affords any ſalt. There conſtantly reigns a little cold all along this coaſt, even in the height of ſummer; and, as to winter, it is impoſſible it ſhould not be very bitter, conſidering the great quantity of ſnow which falls on the Cordilliere, and even the flat country, which is, however, no way benefited by it, being always, unleſs when actually covered by it, extremely dry; and, conſequently, incapable of producing any thing. Accordingly, not a ſingle inhabitant is to be met on the whole coaſt.

It appears, that from the river of Sallies, which ſome have called *el Deſaguadèro*, to the mouth of the Streights of Magellan, there is not another, on the whole coaſt. Thoſe, who thought they had ſeen ſome, and have, accordingly, laid them down on their maps, miſtook, it is poſſible, for rivers, ſome gullies, which fill with water during thaws and heavy rains. However, it muſt be allowed, that rivers might have eſcaped the Spaniards, whoſe obſervations we have been giving, though they cannot be refuſed the honor of having ſurveyed this coaſt better than any of thoſe who attempted it before them; ſo well as to leave no doubt, that the particular rivers, ſo confidently ſpoken of by ſome other mariners, never exiſted; nor many other things mentioned in the journals of ſome of the firſt navigators. One of them

aſſures

assures us, that he had seen, on the highest shores of Port Desire, graves containing skeletons sixteen feet long. Yet, three human bodies, found by our Spaniards, and the only ones found by them during the whole voyage, had nothing extraordinary in them. Others say, that, in a cove of the same port, there is plenty of fish; that in the Port of St. Julian there are oysters eleven palms in diameter. But the crew of the St. Anthony carefully examined, and fished, with nets, in every creek and corner of these two ports, without meeting any such thing in either of them.

To conclude, it must be allowed, that the survey of this coast, taken by the St. Anthony, affords a much juster idea of it, than any the world had of it before; and that it is now evident, that it is not only uninhabited, but uninhabitable; and, consequently, that it would be to no purpose to send Missionaries there, since it would be impossible for them to find in it the commonest necessaries of life. Accordingly, all thoughts of doing it were immediately laid aside. Father Strobl returned to the Conception, where he had left Father Manuel de Garcia; and the Jesuits confined their project of a new Christian Republic in the Magellanic countries, to the nations already discovered in it. The peace, lately concluded between the Spaniards and them, had drawn numbers of them to the Conception; and the happiness they saw the Christian inhabitants of that Reduction enjoy, and of which they spread the account far and wide, induced several nations to solicit similar establishments in their own countries.

Of these the inhabitants of the mountains were the first. One of their principal Caciques waited upon Father Strobl soon after his arrival, to ask that favour of him; and was so charmed with the reception

ception he met with. that he afterwards repaired to Buenos Ayres, to obtain ſome Fathers of the Company from the Governor himſelf. The Governor received him very kindly; and having applied to the Provincial, Father Cardiel and Father Thomas Falconner were immediately named, to accompany him into the mountains. They ſet out in the month of September 1746, after receiving the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from the Governor that he would grudge no pains or expence, to favour the ſettlements they might think proper to make amongſt the Highlanders, and to give them that ſolidity, which an enterprize of ſo much importance to church and ſtate, and, beſides, ſo capable of adding luſtre to his government, might appear to require.

By a letter from Father Cardiel, written ſoon after his arrival there, we are informed, that, towards the end of November, he was in the neighbourhood of a volcano, of which we have already made mention, on the banks of a lake; with a rivulet, on one ſide of it; and, on the other, a large foreſt, in which, however, there was not a tree good enough to build a cabin with; ſo that Father Falconner was actually employed in looking out for better; that, notwithſtanding, three hundred Indians were already gathered about him, and expreſſed an earneſt deſire to remain with him; that as yet, indeed, they did not ſpeak of becoming Chriſtians; but that he was in hopes of bringing them to it, by degrees; laſtly, that, by repeated obſervations, he found this place to be in the latitude of thirty-two degrees forty minutes; the ſame with that of Buenos Ayres, from which it is but fifty leagues diſtant.

In the converſation this Miſſionary had with the Highlanders during his ſtay at the Conception, he learned ſeveral particulars concerning their country,

country, the truth of which Father Falconner was ordered to enquire into. The first was, that of a stone statue, buried, to the middle, in sand, with arms as large as the thighs of an ordinary woman; and every other part that could be seen of a proportionable size; the sex, as far as could be discovered, female. The second, and most important particular, and which all the Indians unanimously confirmed, was, that the river of Sallies separates, at some distance from the sea (at what distance we are not told), into two branches; and that, in the island formed by this separation, there are Spaniards, that is to say, Europeans; for, the Indians of this country give the name of Spaniards to all the Europeans that come in their way. Yet the Spaniards of Paraguay know nothing as yet, by their own experience, of any such people. The same Indians added, that their ancestors traded to this island; but that, having killed some of the inhabitants (on what occasion they did not say), they dropt all communication with them; that, however, they often saw them crossing over to the main land in large boats; but that they could never discover, either how, or when, they settled in that island.

The hopes, however, which many well-disposed persons had conceived, of seeing the Christian Religion solidly established throughout the Magellanic lands, as far as the remotest extremity of South America, soon vanished. I am not well enough furnished with materials to assign the reasons of it. All that I have been able to gather concerning the matter is, that the Reduction of the Conception, whose foundation and happy progress I have related, and which scarce yielded to the most flourishing Reductions of Paraguay, either in the number or fervour of its Indians, exists no longer; and that, for

for ſome time paſt, there has been a very briſk war, in that quarter, between the Spaniards and Indians.

During theſe tranſactions there arrived certain orders from Spain, which thoſe charged with the execution of them did not think proper to ſuſpend till proper repreſentations could be made to His Catholick Majeſty, on the ill conſequences that might attend it; ſo that the Miſſionaries, who, for near two ages paſt, had been in the habit of exalting the mercies of God in changing ſo many barbarous idolaters into the moſt fervent Chriſtians, began, now, to fear they ſhould ſoon have equal reaſon to adore the depths of his judgment; as has been, for a long time paſt, the caſe with regard to the church of Japan.

The only comfort left them, and thoſe who wiſh well to the proſperity of theſe new churches, watered with the ſweat, and manured with the blood of ſo many apoſtolic men, and ſo many new Chriſtians, is in the piety of a Prince, who, on every occaſion, has given the moſt convincing proofs of the moſt ardent and diſintereſted zeal to extend and firmly eſtabliſh the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, to the remoteſt extremeties of his vaſt empire.

They, with equal reaſon, flatter themſelves, that this monarch, after the example of his auguſt predeceſſors, and conformably to what he himſelf has practiſed ſince his advancement to the throne, will do them the ſame juſtice in regard to their conduct on this occaſion, as he has already done them in regard to their conduct on other occaſions, notwithſtanding the baſe calumnies ſpread, and ſtill ſpreading, againſt them. His Majeſty is no ſtranger to the danger to which many of them have expoſed themſelves, in endeavouring to make their Neophytes conform to his views; and muſt be ſenſible,

that they might, with time and patience, have ſucceeded in their endeavours, if his officers had not, with a peremptorineſs neither neceſſary nor enjoined them, required of theſe new Chriſtians, what could not fail, if attempted, to deſtroy the bulk of them. Accordingly, the bare propoſal was ſufficient to excite ſuch a ferment amongſt them, as had like to have proved fatal even to ſeveral of their Miſſionaries; thoſe men, whom, after the peruſal of this hiſtory, the impartial world will, it is hoped, allow to have been their beſt friends.

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